GLIMPSES OF IQBAL

S. A. VAHID

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN
KARACHI

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S A Vahid
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IN CONNECTION WITH IQBAL'S CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

To

WASAY AND HIS CHILDREN
WITH LOVE AND AFFECTION

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

These eassys were written at odd moments over the last few years. As they often touch the same subject, there is some time repetition but continuity of the topic is not disturbed in any case. These eassys serve to throw light on the versatile genius of Iqbal and as such add to our knowledge of that omni-competent genius. Most of these eassys are being published for the first time but some have already been published.

S. A. Vahid

9th Nov., 1974
(Allama's Birthday)

I

IQBAL AND HIS POETRY

According to Iqbal the true aim of poetry, as of all arts, is to make human life rich and beautiful, and poetry that fails to do this has failed in its great mission. If art does not contribute to the fullness and exuberance of life and fails to provide guidance for humanity in the various problems that baffle it, that art it is meaningless. To Iqbal art represents man's attempt to grasp the realities of life, and for him great artists cannot be conceived to have girded themselves to their great efforts merely to provide intellectual toys for human entertainment. According to Iqbal the keynote of all art must be a desire to impress upon mankind those great truths which alone can bring about the amelioration of human race. The main object of his poetic art is to come to the help of his readers in the struggle of life, and to achieve this he sings of life. Describing art Iqbal says :

اے اهل نظر ذوق نظر خوب هے لیکن
جو شے کی حقیقت کو نه دیکھے وه نظر کیا
مقصود هنر سوز حیات ابدی هے
یه ایک نفس یا دو نفس مثل شرر کیا
بے معجزه دنیا میں ابھرتی نهیں قومیں
جو ضرب کلیمی نهیں رکھتا وه هنر کیا

Zarb-i-Kalim, p. 117

O man of vision, the desire to see into things is welcome,
But what is that vision which fails to grasp the reality of things.
The object of all art is to attain warmth of life immortal,
What good is existence for a breath or two like a spark.
Without a miracle nations cannot rise,
What is art without the striking power of Moses' staff !

Iqbal has no patience with people who talk of 'Art for Art's sake.' According to him art must be for life. Heaven had made him a great artist, but he was not a mere decorative artist. The aim of his art was while pleasing to provide succour and guidance to afflicted humanity in its onward march. He utilised his great art to utter those truths which alone can bring salvation to mankind, and therein lies the true significance of Iqbal's art for humanity. And it is this feature which tends to

make the appeal of his art universal. For Iqbal the two powerful impulses to artistic creation are his faith in human capacity for limitless development, and man's unique position in the universe; both these impulses serve to impart an unparalleled charm to his poetry. But this is not all. In addition to these there is the vast range of his poetry to fascinate his readers. In the first instance he has left us poetry in two languages, and was actually planning to write a prose-poem in a third language when death snatched him away. Then there is no kind of poetry, except the dramatic, that he did not write in Urdu and Persian. He wrote lyric, philosophic, epic, metaphysical, descriptive, and satiric poetry. In each kind of poetry his work will stand comparison with that of the world's greatest poets. This vast range of poetry needs wide and varied sensibility not met with even in the greatest poets of the world. It is unnecessary to emphasise the difficulties which beset one trying to survey the poetry of such a versatile super-craftsman. It is not intended in this brief survey to attempt a critical study of Iqbal's poetry. All that will be aimed is an enumeration of the main characteristics of the important kinds of poetry written by him.

Iqbal started his poetical career by writing lyrical poetry in the form of *ghazals*, and today his lyrics are perhaps better known than any other kind of poetry written by him. Lyric poetry is poetry in its highest, intensest, and purest form, as in it the poet sings of emotions which constitute the very life—of love, fear, joy, anger, hope, and devotion. Owing to the elementary human emotions with which it deals, the appeal of lyric poetry is universal. Other kinds of poetry may be more difficult to produce, and may represent a combination of more niceties of poetic art, but no other poetry contains so much of the true poetic 'ore'. The magical cadence and musical ecstacy of Iqbal's *ghazals* made them universally popular. He turns our simple experiences of life into passionate experiences, and communicates these with such vivid and moving imagery that it cannot fail to strike a sympathetic response. In his songs even the abstruse notions of philosophy and religion are set free from their academic isolation and become a part of the common life of man. This could be accomplished only by a great artist. By formulating a life of ceaseless striving and discountenancing all views of life which advocated renunciation and self-annihilation Iqbal has actually widened the scope of lyric poetry so far as Urdu and Persian languages are concerned. If man is not to don ascetic's sack-cloth, but is to live an active life with his fellow-men, there will be many more occasions for

the play of his emotions—joy over success, grief over disappointments, exultation in effort. Life, according to Iqbal is nothing but a progressive succession of fresh ends, purposes, and values. This in itself ensures an un-ending succession of those thrills of souls, those rapturous glows of feeling, which provide the very substance which makes the finest lyrical poetry.

Two things are essential for a perfect lyric—original emotion of great intensity and depth, and corresponding mastery over language to give it a fitting utterance. Iqbal's emotions were of great intensity, and he had a keen ear for melody and harmony and instinctively selected those words and notes which served to enhance the rhythm of his language. In order to illustrate this we have only to refer to one of his *ghazals* :

صورت نه پرستم من بتخانه شکستم من   آن سیل سبک سیرم هر بند گسستم من

در بود و نبود من اندیشه گمانها داشت   از عشق هویدا شد این نکته که هستم من

در دیر نیاز من در کعبه نماز من   زنار بدوشم من تسبیح بدستم من

Payam-i-Mashriq, p. 179

Not inclined to worship the form, I broke the idol-house;
I am that rushing torrent which sweeps aside all obstacles.
About my being or not-being, intellect had doubts;
Love revealed the secret that I am.
In a temple I offer my homage, in the Ka'ba
I offer my prayers,
Round my shoulder I have the sacred thread
and in my hand is the rosary.

There are two main characteristics of Iqbal's lyrics. The first is his healthy mysticism which enabled him to portray healthy sentiments which will interest healthy minds in all ages and in all climes. The other characteristic of Iqbal's lyric poetry is his conception of Beauty and Love. While Iqbal saw Beauty in everything except the really ignoble and ugly, the Beauty which appealed to him most was the Beauty of Power and Perfection. Beauty is a mental experience and not a quality of things, and different types of Beauty appeal to different people. Iqbal sees Beauty in everything that is Powerful and Perfect. This new conception of Beauty has imparted to his lyric poetry that robust vitality and manliness which is singularly lacking in most of the Oriental

lyric poetry. His lyrics possess that vitalising spark and that invigorating touch which is singularly absent in other oriental poets. He sees beauty in the eagle and the hawk which is more inspiring than the beauty of the nightingale, such a favourite of most Oriental poets.

While Iqbal has sung of all human emotions in his poetry the theme of Love is paramount; great emphasis is laid on the part Love plays in the development of human personality and character, and the term is used in a very wide sense.

Iqbal's conception of Love and Beauty underwent changes with the development of his thought. As remarked by M. M. Sharif: "In the first and the second period of Iqbal's thought, as I have explained at some length, beauty created love. Now in the ensuing period, extending from 1920 to the last day of his life, the process of creation is reversed. Now will-to-power or ego-energy becomes the creator of beauty. The essence of Reality is no longer beauty, but love or the will of the ego."[1] It may, however, be remarked that whatever conception of beauty and love he had his lyrics retain the charm and fascination.

Iqbal's poetic genius was so comprehensive that even in the field of lyric poetry he displayed great versatility. He could write poems whose perfection resides in their spontaneity. But he could also produce poems whose perfection lies in their art. Yet again he could write poems in which both spontaneity and artistry seem to blend and function harmoniously. This combination makes Iqbal one of the greatest lyrical poets of the world. He ranks with Hafiz, Ghalib, Ronsard, Burns, and Shelley. It is true that his total output of lyric poetry is not very large: in fact the output is small as compared to the works of other well-known lyric poets in Urdu and Persian, but nobody finds fault with a violin because it has only a few strings.

Iqbal spent his childhood in Sialkot, a town situated along the foothills of the outer-Himalayas. Amongst these beautiful surroundings he developed early a love of Nature, which inspired him to write some great poetry. And one of his early popular poems was on the Himalayas, which he had then only seen from a distance. Some of his poems dealing with Nature bring to mind the finest poetry of Wordsworth.

1. M. M. Sharif: *The Genesis of Iqbal's Aesthetic*, Iqbal, Vol. I, No. I, p. 32.

Describing a pastoral scene he says :

صف باندھے دونوں جانب بوٹے ہرے ہرے ہوں
ندی کا صاف پانی تصویر لے رہا ہو
ہو دلفریب ایسا کہسار کا نظارہ
پانی بھی موج بن کر اٹھ اٹھ کے دیکھتا ہو
پانی کو چھو رہی ہو جھک جھک کے گل کی ٹہنی
جیسے حسین کوئی آئینہ دیکھتا ہو
پھولوں کو آئے جس دم شبنم وضو کرانے
رونا مرا وضو ہو، نالہ مری دعا ہو

Bang-i-Dara, p 35

Arrayed along both sides are verdant trees,
The clear water of the river reflecting the scene.
So entrancing is the scene of the hilly land
That water rises in ripples to view it.
Flowery boughs stoop down towards the water
Like a damsel seeing her beauty in a mirror.
When dew falls for flowers to perform ablutions
Weeping should suffice for my ablution, and wails for prayers.

Nature is always steeped in his personal feeling, for example, when describing the advent of spring he says :

خیز کہ در کوہ و دشت خیمہ زد ابر بہار
مست ترنم ہزار
طوطی و دراج و سار
بر طرف جوئبار
کشت گل و لالہ زار
چشم تماشا بیار
خیز کہ در کوہ و دشت خیمہ زد ابر بہار

Payam-i-Mashriq, p. 104

Arise ! for on hills and dales
The spring has arrived !
Mad in singing are nightingales
Cuckoos, partridges and quails.
Along the banks of the brook

Have sprung the rose and the poppy,
Come out and see.
Arise ! for on hills and dales
The spring has arrived !

The description of the spring is not only enchanting, it also epitomises Iqbal's message: "Awake, arise and get busy. There is no time to be wasted". The effect of the spring is to bestow life and vitality on everything, and as we go through the poem we feel our very being pulsating with life.

When describing an evening on the Neckar in Heidelberg Iqbal emphasises the prevailing calm by saying that the magic of tranquillity has even turned the tempestuous nature of the river into restful gliding. When reading the poem we feel as if the spirit of tranquillity is enveloping us, and we are being lulled into sleep :

خاموش ہے چاندنی قمر کی
شاخیں ہیں خموش ہر شجر کی
فطرت بے ہوش ہو گئی ہے
آغوش میں شب کے سو گئی ہے

Bang-i-Dara, p. 138

Light from the moon is tranquil,
Branches of every tree are still,
Nature has become unconscious
Slumbering in the lap of the night.

Describing Kashmir, which he loved, Iqbal says :

رخت به کاشمر کشا، کوه و تل و دمن نگر
سبزه جهان جهان ببین، لاله چمن چمن نگر
باد بهار موج موج، مرغ بهار فوج فوج
صلصل و سار زوج زوج، بر سر نارون نگر
لاله ز خاک بر دمید، موج به آبجو تپید
خاک شرر شرر ببین، آب شکن شکن نگر

Payam-i Mashriq, p. 135

Alight in Kashmir and behold the mountains, the hills, and the dales,

Behold the green grass all over and gardens full of poppies,
Enjoy spring breeze wave after wave, see birds in myriads,
The wood pigeons and the starlings in pairs on the poplars.
The poppies have sprowted from the earth, ripples play on stream surface,
Behold the dust full of sparks, and water wrinkled by ripples !

In the beginning, like Wordsworth, Iqbal was a pantheist in his treatment of Nature but later on his views about the immanence of God underwent a profound change. And finally he regarded every object in Nature as endowed with a distinct and unique personality. Thus his treatment of Nature covers a wider range than that of Wordsworth.[1]

Apart from subjective treatment of Nature Iqbal uses Nature for his metaphors, similes, and illustrations which he employs with wonderful effect. He also uses Nature as a background to his poetry. Nature is brought to sustain by sympathy the inner significance of the message of the poem. Often Nature is described in a way to prepare the ground for the message the poet wants to convey. For example in *Saqī Nama* Iqbal says :

فضا نیلی نیلی ہوا میں سرور ٹھہرتے نہیں آشیاں میں طیور
وہ جوئے کہستاں اچکتی ہوئی اٹکتی لچکتی سرکتی ہوئی
اچھلتی ، پھسلتی ، سنبھلتی ہوئی بڑے پیچ کھا کر نکلتی ہوئی
ذرا دیکھ اے ساقئی لالہ فام سناتی ہے یہ زندگی کا پیام

Bal-i-Jibril, p. 166

The azure sky overhead, the air charged with joy,
Even the birds do not stay in their nests !
And behold yonder the mountain stream leaping forward
Conquering obstructions, swaying and crawling;
See it jumping over or slipping obstacles, and then eddying on,
Rushing forth in spite of many a curve and twist !
Just behold, O Saqi bright-faced,
How the stream conveys the message of life !

The whole description of Nature is used as a background for conveying the poet's philosophy of life by referring to the mountain stream. Just as the stream advances steadily in spite of all obstructions, so man must develop his personality by surmounting all his obstacles.

1. S. A. Vahid: *Studies in Iqbal*, Ashraf, Lahore, p. 193.

As remarked above, in the beginning, Iqbal was a pantheist in his treatment of Nature. He says :

حسن ازل کی پیدا ہر چیز میں جھلک ہے
انساں میں وہ سخن ہے، غنچہ میں وہ چٹک ہے
کثرت میں ہو گیا ہے وحدت کا راز مخفی
جگنو میں جو چمک ہے، وہ پھول میں مہک ہے

Bang-i-Dara, p. 90

Every object has a gleam of Eternal Beauty
In man it is speech, in a bud it is bursting,
In multiplicity lies the secret of unity,
What is glitter in a glow-worm is fragrance in a flower !

But later on Iqbal's views regarding pantheism underwent a profound change. He began regarding each object as endowed with a distinct personality. Thus Iqbal's treatment of Nature shows a wide sensibility and an extensive range.

With his incisive humour and penetrating wit Iqbal delighted in writing satires, which are characterised by smoothness of verse, lucidity of style, and urbanity of manner. The pride, pedantry, and stupidity of the religious leaders are assailed with invective in the following lines :

دین حق از کافری رسوا تر است   ز انکه ملا مومن کافر گر است
دین کافر فکر و تدبیر جهاد   دین ملا فی سبیل الله فساد

Javid Namah, p. 84

True religion has sunk lower than irreligiousness,
For the *Mulla* is busy branding people as infidels.
The religion of the infidel consists of thinking and planning for correct endeavour.
The religion of the *Mulla* is creating trouble in the name of God !

While admiring much in Western civilization Iqbal never hesitated in pointing out its defects. Referring to unemployment and falling birthrate in many European countries he says :

کوئی پوچھے حکیم یورپ سے   ہند و یوناں ہیں جس کے حلقہ بگوش
کیا یہی ہے معاشرت کا کمال   مرد بیکار و زن تہی آغوش

Zarbi-i-Kalim, p. 90

One might ask the sage of Europe,
Whose genius even Hind and Hellas admire
Is this the goal of social evolution ?
Unemployment amongst men and sterility amongst women.

Iqbal describes the *mulla*, the self-styled pseudo-priest of Islam, a religion which does not recognise the priesthood or any religious office, in the following lines :

میں بھی حاضر تھا وھاں ضبط سخن کر نہ سکا
حق سے جب حضرت ملا کو ملا حکم بہشت
عرض کی میں نے الٰہی مری تقصیر معاف۱
خوش نہ آئیں گے اسے حور و شراب و لب کشت۲
نہیں فردوس مقام جدل و قال و اقول
بحث و تکرار اس اللہ کے بندے کی سرشت
ھے بد آموزی اقوام و ملل کام اس کا
اور جنت میں نہ مسجد نہ کلیسا نہ کنشت

Bal-i-Jibril, p. 159

I was present there and could not hold my tongue
When God ordained the *Mulla* to Paradise.
Submissively I prayed "Forgive me,
He will not care for *houri*, wine, and verdant fields.
Paradise is not the place to indulge in arguing and dialogues,
And quibbling and wrangling form the nature of this man.
Throwing mud on people and faiths is his vocation
And in Paradise there is neither mosque, nor synagogue.

Whereas Dryden, in his satires, makes his victims look ludicrous by associating them with heroes of epic grandeur, and Pope reduces them to the level of worthless vermin, Iqbal, like Byron simply depicts them as they are.[1]

No study of Iqbal's poetry can be complete without a reference to his long poems, known in Urdu and Persian as *mathnawis*. There are critics who maintain that a long poem is really a contradiction in terms, because according to them, poetry is essentially the language of emotion, and as emotion is always of brief duration, there

1. S.A. Vahid : *Iqbal, His Art & Thought*, John Murray, London, p. 177.

can be no such thing as a long poem. While the force of this argument cannot be totally denied it must, however, be said that this criticism of long poems, is to a certain extent, based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of poetry. While the universal appeal of short poems, mostly lyrical, cannot be denied, it must be admitted that long poems, by giving the poets an opportunity for sustained effort, provide a truer test of his art. Even the greatest poets find it difficult to keep up the glow of thought for any length of time, and for this reason even some of the best long poems of the world contain dull passages, and it is only the superb artists who are capable of keeping out dullness when emotion is at a low ebb. While it will be wrong to suggest that the excellence of a poem depends upon its length, it can be said that a long poem can be successfully composed only by a great poet.

While appreciation of long and short poems depends a good deal upon our temperament, the study of a poet's long poems is necessary in order to arrive at a true estimate of his poetic art, because it is only the long poems that provide a true and correct test of a poet's art. Iqbal has written a number of long poems, and while according to the classification adopted in Persian and Urdu literatures most of these can be classified as *mathnawis*, that is not a very satisfactory classification. Amongst Iqbal's important *mathnawis* may be mentioned:

Asrar-i-Khudi
Rumuz-i-Bekhudi
Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid
Javid Namah

The first two poems are metaphysical, and the the third is philosophical. While *Javid Namah* is an epic poem. Many students of Iqbal have classified *Asrar* and *Rumuz* as philosophical poems. It is not desired to enter into a controversy here. In most cases all classification of poetry is purely artificial, arbitrary, and formal, but in case of Iqbal classification is particularly difficult owing to several reasons. There is no harm in treating all these poems as philosophical, but we have to bear in mind the strong prejudice against all poetry which is supposed to be philosophic, although this prejudice is primarily based on a misunderstanding. The line of division between lyric and philosophic poetry is after all a thin one because a philosophic poem exhibits the poet's intensity of passion just like a lyric but perhaps not

in the same degree. As regards philosophy itself no poet can really compose a great poem unless he has a background of ideas and the highest moral perception. As remarked by Ruskin "that art is great which conveys to the spectator, by any means whatsoever the greatest number of greatest ideas". But we have to consider the value of the thought along with the poet's success in giving it a poetic rendering. All that is wanted is that philosophy offered to us by a poet will be transfigured by imagination and feeling into poetry. In the hands of a poet the truths of life acquire a higher potency and value.

Asrar-i-Khudi was first published in 1915. It describes fundamental principles affecting the development of human personality. This poem attracted world-wide attention owing to its translation in English.

In his introduction to the translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Professor Nicholson remarked :

"The artistic quality of the poem is remarkable when we consider that its language is not the author's own. I have done my best to preserve as much of this as a literal translation would allow. Many passages of the original are poetry of the kind, that once read, is not easily forgotten."[1]

Hailing the advent of a fully developed personality or ego, Iqbal says :

اے سوار اشہب دوراں بیا　　اے فروغ دیدۂ امکاں بیا
شورش اقوام را خاموش کن　　نغمۂ خود را بہشت گوش کن
خیز و قانون اخوت ساز ده　　جام صہبائے محبت باز ده
باز در عالم بیار ایام صلح　　جنگجویاں را بده پیغام صلح
نوع انساں مزرع و تو حاصلی　　کاروان زندگی را منزلی

Asrar-i Khudi, p. 51

Appear, O rider of Destiny,
Appear, O light of the dark realm of Change,
Silence the noise of the nations,
Imparadise our ear with thy music !
Arise and tune the harp of brotherhood,
Give us back the cup of the wine of love !

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1. R. A. Nicholson: *The Secrets of the Self*, Ashraf, Lahore, p xxi.

Bring once more days of peace to the world,
Give a message of peace to them that seek battle !
Mankind are the cornfield and thou the harvest,
Thou art the goal of Life's caravan.

Translation by R. A. Nicholson

In *Rumuz* Iqbal has described the basic principles on which the organisation of ideal human society should be based. This is also a poem of great artistic value and an English translation by Professor A. J. Arberry is available.

Gulshan-i Raz Jadid deals with abstruse mystical problems; the poet sets himself nine questions and then goes on to give replies to them. In spite of the philosophical character of the poem poetical fluency is remarkable.

But Iqbal's *magnun opus* is *Javid Namah.* In this poem, the poet accompanied by Rumi, who is to him what Virgil is to Dante, visits the various planets and meets historical personalities who in their dialogues elucidate some of the eternal truths. The poet first visits the Moon. Here Rumi introduces him to a Hindu sage known as Jehan Dost. Rumi tells Jehan Dost that for mankind the way to progress lies through the synthesis of the best elements in Eastern and Western cultures. East has been concentrating on the spiritual and neglecting the material, while West has been concentrating on the material and neglecting the spiritual.

شرق حق را دید و عالم را ندید   غرب در عالم خزید ، از حق رمید

Javid Namah, p. 35

The East saw God but failed to see the world of matter,
The West got embroiled in the world and neglected God !

Later on the poet goes over to the Valley of Yarghmeed, where he comes across the tablets of Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, and Muhammad, the four spiritual leaders and teachers of mankind. Then the poet is transported to Mercury where he meets Jamaluddin Afghani and Said Halim Pasha. The poet tells Afghani the mistakes Eastern nations are making in Westernising themselves totally. Said Halim Pasha compares the East and the West and points out that the salvation of mankind lies in the synthesis of the two cultures, or as the poet puts it, in wedding reason to love :

غربیان را زیرکی ساز حیات — شرقیان را عشق راز کائنات
زیرکی از عشق گردد حق شناس — کار عشق از زیرکی محکم اساس
خیز و نقش عالم دیگر بنه — عشق را با زیرکی آمیز ده

Javid Namah, p. 71

In the West, Intellect is the source of life,
In the East, Love is the basis of the Universe.
Through Love, Intellect becomes acquainted with Reality,
And Intellect provides stability to Love.
Arise and lay the foundations of a new world,
By wedding Intellect to Love !

Afghani exhorts the poet to tell the Russians that without faith and religion all their progress will come to naught.

From Mercury the poet is transported to Venus and from Venus to Mars, and thence to Jupiter. Here he meets the poet Ghalib, the poetess Tahira of Iran, and the mystic Mansur Hallaj. The poet then reaches Saturn where he meets those mean souls who have been guilty of treason against their own countries and masters.

From Saturn the poet reaches trans-Heaven region, and here the first person he meets is Nietzsche, who tried all his life to grasp Godhood but failed completely, because in his attempts he relied mainly on intellect alone. After seeing Nietzsche the poet flies upto a higher region where he gets a glimpse of the palace of Sharafun-Nisa, the daughter of Abdus Samad, the Governor of the Punjab. Later he meets the saint Syed Ali Hamadani and the poet Ghani of Kashmir. The poet refers to the sale of Kashmir by the British in the following lines :

باد صبا اگر به جنیوا گزر کنی — حرفے ز ما به مجلس اقوام باز گوئے
دھقان و کشت و جوے و خیابان فروختند
قومے فروختند و چه ارزان فروختند

Javid Namah, p. 189

O breeze ! if you pass by Geneva,
Convey this message of ours to the League of Nations,
They sold peasants, fields, rivers, and gardens,
In short, sold a whole nation and that too so cheap !

The poet then meets the Hindu poet Bartarihari and three Eastern potentates – Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali, and Tipu Sultan. Ahmad Shah refers to the growing tendency in Eastern countries to adopt Western methods of living and styles of dress, and remarks on the futility of this blind imitation :

قوت مغرب نه از چنگ و رباب　　نے ز رقص دختران بے حجاب
نے ز سحر ساحران لاله روست　　نے ز عریان ساق و نے از قطع موست
محکمی او را نه از لادینی است　　نے فروغش از خط لاطینی است
قوت افرنگ از علم و فن است　　از همیں آتش چراغش روشن است
حکمت از قطع و برید جامه نیست　　مانع علم و هنر عمامه نیست

Javid Namah, p. 209

The secret of the West's power is not through lute and guitar
Nor through the dancing of her half-naked daughters.
Nor through the charm of her bright faced beauties
Nor in bare shins, nor in bobbed hair.
Nor her strength is from secularism
Nor is her rise due to Latin alphabets.
The strength of the West is due to sciences and arts.
Her lamp is alight from this fire only.
Knowledge does not depend on the cut and style of your garments,
And a turban is no obstacle to the acquisition of Knowledge.

It is not possible to attempt a critical analysis of *Javid Namah*, but some of its outstanding features deserve mention. The most noticeable feature is the marvellous variety of effect produced by the introduction of lyrical interludes. These lyrical interludes serve to heighten the effect of variety by providing changes in rhythm and style at intervals. The second characteristic is the complete absence of any conscious and laboured effort on the part of the poet. Again and again the highest truths are uttered in a language so natural and inevitable that it extorts our admiration. The poet seems to strike a lofty note without any effort. The third characteristic of the poem is that the language used by a character always reflects his or her personality. The very sound of the words suggests the characteristics of the person talking. The vivacious talk of Satan reflects his great passion for action. The passionate devotion of Tahira to the cause she espoused is reflected in every word she utters. Another remarkable feature of the poem is the great sympathy and regard with which the poet treats his characters, irrespective

of their religious or political views. In fact the only persons for whom the poet displays any feelings of disgust and contempt are those who proved traitors to their countries and masters. Even when describing these traitors the language used in the poem is particularly free from roughness and crudity.

We have described briefly the types of poetry written by Iqbal. It will be interesting to carry out a survey of the artistic tendencies displayed by him. The most prominent feature is a synthesis of classicism and romanticism.[1] This synthesis invests his art with a charm all its own. The next tendency is symbolism so dominant in all Urdu and Persian poets. With these tendencies displaying themselves so prominently come expresionism and functionalism.[2] The result is an exhibition of poetic art which captures our imagination before we can subject it to any logical analysis.

This brief survey of Iqbal's poetry will show that all those, who turn to it, will find in it that wealth of thought and beauty of art not often met even in the greatest poets of the world. After reading Iqbal's poetry one is irresistibly reminded of Gabriel le D' Annunizid's remarks: "Poetry is everything; it can define the indefinable; it can embrace the illimitable; it can speak the ineffable, it can penetrate the abyss; it can measure eternity."[3] Iqbal himself has said of his poetry :

هیچ کس رازے کہ من گویم نہ گفت
همچو فکر من در معنی نہ سفت

سر عیش جاوداں خواهی بیا هم زمیں هم آسماں خواهی بیا

Asrar-i-Khudi, p. 6

No one hath told the secret which I tell,
Nor threaded a pearl of thought like myself.
Come, if thou wouldst know the secret of everlasting life !
Come, if thou wouldst win both earth and heaven.

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1. S A. Vahid: *Iqbal, His Art & Thought*, John Murray, London p. 110.
2. About Iqbal's expressionism and functionalism the following remarks of Professor M. M. Sharif must be kept in mind: "Iqbal's expressionism as a theory of art, however incomplete, must be accepted as a basis and his functionalism, which now stands apart, must be subsumed under it to give his system a unity. Purpose, which now lies outside, must be brought within the sphere of expressionism. Expressionism cannot find a place in functionalism, but his functionalism can be brought under his expressionism".
M. M. Sharif in Iqbal, January, 1944, Vol. II, Number 3, p. 17.
3. Quoted by the Times of India, Bombay, in its issue of 30th September, 1937.

II

IQBAL AND ITALY

Throughout the ages ITALY has exercised great fascination over artists from all over the world. Along with Greece it has served as the greatest nursery for fine arts in the history of the human race. There is no other instance of the artistic genius of any people continuing to flower so exuberantly for such a long span of time. For students of poetry Italy has the honour of having produced two of the greatest poets of the world—Virgil and Dante. So there is no wonder that Italy and her artistic people always fascinated Iqbal. Perhaps in his case there was another reason for this attraction : three poets for whose genius he had profound admiration spent a long time in this country, and the artistic atmosphere there had played a leading part in moulding their genius. These poets were Milton, Goethe, and Browning. Iqbal admired these poets so passionately that he could not but be attracted by the culture and artistic genius of a country which played such a role in unfolding the creative genius of these poets. It was unfortunate that Iqbal could not live in Italy for a long time and even the brief visit that he paid to that country was not possible till towards the close of his career. But that did not in any way diminish his enthusiasm and admiration for this country.

When passing through the Straits of Messina in September, 1905 Iqbal had a glimpse of Italy from a distance, and his thoughts travelled to the great Italian fighter for liberty, Mazzini, and he wrote the following lines :-

ھرے رھو وطن مازنی کے میدانو
جہاز پر سے تمہیں ھم سلام کرتے ھیں

May you prosper plains of the land of Mazzini,
I pay homage to you from my ship.

It will be interesting to know why the work and personality of Mazzini attracted Iqbal so much. Joseph Mazzini was born on 22nd June, 1805 in Genoa, and died on 10th March 1877 in Pisa. Apart from his literary work Mazzini is chiefly known for his great sacrifices and work for Italian unity and independence. The ideas of Italian

unity and independence were not born with Mazzini. In distant past there had been Dante and Rienzi, In the immediate past there had been the French Revolution, Napoleon, and Romanticism. For his patriotic activities Mazzini was arrested and imprisoned in the fortress of Savonna. Released from Savonna he was offered internment in a small town or exile. He chose the latter and went to Marseilles, Here he worked with some young men. Then he went to Switzerlamd and later to England. It was in England that he brought out literary works including essays on Byron, Goethe, and on the minor works of Dante. Mazzini died in thc house of friends at Pisa. He had lived just long enough to witness the downfall of the temporal power of the Pope and the achievement of Italian unity under the house of Savoy with Rome as capital. But his dream was fulfilled in 1947, when Itlay was declared a Republic.

Mazzini was not a systematic philosophical thinker. In him a first-rate laterary critic was sacrificed to the political agitator. His outstanding and permanent legacy is the moral greatness of his teachings. He was an idealist in action who believed that men, though imperfect, could be brought to spiritual perfection. It was for this that Iqbal admired him.

In 1910, Iqbal wrote in '*Stray Reflections*' that "the true sphere of Mazzini was literature, not politics. The gain of Italy is not much compared to the loss which the world has suffered by his devotion to politics".

In 1908 sailing back home when his ship passed by Sicily, that gem of the Mediterranean, Iqbal wrote his thrilling poem on Sicily. In this poem Iqbal bewails the great blow that the driving away of the Arabs from Sicily dealt to the synthesis of East and West that was being achieved under the Arab suzerainty. In this poem he says :-

آہ اے سسلی سمندر کی ھے تجھ سے آبرو
رہنما کی طرح اس پانی کے صحرا میں ہے تو
زیب تیرے خال سے رخسار دریا کو رہے
تیری شمعوں سے تسلی بحر پیما کو رہے
ہو سبک چشم مسافر پر ترا منظر مدام
موج رقصاں تیرے ساحل کی چٹانوں پر مدام

Oh Sicily, crown of the sea, like a guide in the water's wide wilderness set
Like a mole you deck the ocean's cheek, and help with your lights the wavewanderers yet,
May you be balm to the traveller's eye and foam dance on your rocks for ever the same.

Another Italian who attracted Iqbal's attention was Machiavelli. In his poem *Rumuz* Iqbal described Machiavelli in the following lines:-

آں فلارنساوی باطل پرست　　سرمۂ او دیدۂ مردم شکست
مملکت را دین او معبود ساخت　　فکر او مذموم را محمود ساخت
باطل از تعلیم او بالیده است　　حیله اندازی فنے گردیده است

The Florentine who worshipped falsehood,
Whose collyrium shattered the sight of men;
His faith proclaimed the State as the only worshipful,
His thoughts turned the ignoble to praiseworthy.
His doctrine caused falsehood to flourish,
And plotting stratagem became an art.

Machiavelli was born in 1469 in Florence. In 1492 he was given an important office in the Republic of Florence, and was later on sent on embassies to France and Germany. He was prosecuted in 1513 for treachery, but was acquitted of the charge on the recommendation of Cardinal Jubai. He retired from politics in 1515 and died in 1527. He wrote his well known book "*The Prince*" in 1515, but it was not published till 5 years after his death. He wrote '*Discourses*' in 1520. His last book was *History of Florence*, which was published in 1920. Iqbal has criticised Machiavelli mainly because he advocated separation of politics from religious and moral values.

But the greatest link between Iqbal and Italy is that shown by his *magnum opus Javid Namah*, which has been called by some critics as Oriental Divine Comedy, after the work of the national poet of Italy—Dante. Works of both the poets show a sense of larger life and immortal destiny of man. Iqbal's *Javid Namah* and Dante's *Divine Comedy* both are poems of spiritual vision and powerful realistic imagination. Dante was born in May 1265 and died in September 1321. Iqbal was born in February 1873 and died in April 1938. Thus a period of six centuries separates these two giants, yet across six centuries the two

poets touch hands looking together upon the same scene, The main impact of their work was aimed at humanity itself. Both Dante and Iqbal have, through the allegory of a vision, attempted to depict the destiny of the human soul. Recent researches have established beyond doubts that Dante was indebted to Muslim sources for the original conception of his great poem. Though this question has always aroused the curiosity of many scholars but in the beginning of this century it obtained greater richness of documentation and more precise information through *La Escatalogia Muslimano en la Divnia Comedia* of a Spanish Orientalist Miguel Asin Palacios. The thesis of Asin's book was the analogy between the representation of 'Beyond' in Dante's *Divina Comedia* and that of the Muslim writers regarding the fate of souls after death and the Last Judgement the most prominent being *Durratual Fakhira* of Al-Ghazali and *Miraj Namah*. In 1944 the Italian scholar Mounrat de Villard published "*The study of Islam in the XII and XIII Centuries*". In this book he mentions a French manuscript *Liber de Lechiele Muhammad*: *The book of Muhammad's Staircase* which was in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and a Latin book *Liber Scale Mohameti* in the Bibliotheque National, Paris, containing the Western version of *Miraj* of the Prophet of Islam. According to Mountrat these two books were two different translations of one major work on the subject. This proved beyond doubts that there were translations of works on the Islamic conception of life hereafter in the Western libraries. This was further confirmed by the work of Professor Enrico Cerulli on the subject. This great scholar and diplomat admitted the accuracy of Mounrat's hypothesis. In fact Cerulli's work established the fact that these two books of translation were actually two different versions of the same popular work, *Kitab-al-Miraj*, which had been translated in 1206, fifty years before Dante's birth in Spanish by King Alphonso of Castello. Professor Cerulli published in 1950 the Latin text and the ancient French text of the two translations of the Arabic manuscript in one of his books : *The book of the staircase and the question of Arab Spanish source of Divina Comedia.* He has proved beyond all doubts that there existed in medieval Europe a detailed description of the Muslim conception of life after death in French, Spanish, and Latin, all accessible to Dante.

In Islamic literature we have besides the work referred to above Ibnul Arabi's *Futuhat-i-Makkia* and Muarri's *Alghufran*. There is also a poem in Persian by Shahzori. Thus in tracing the influence of Dante

on Iqbal we have to bear in mind that Iqbal was intimately acquainted with the Muslim conception of life after death through the traditions of *Miraj*, immortalised in various Miraj Namas and the writings of various Muslim scholars recording their mystic experiences or visions. The subject of Ascension of the Prophet had always interested Iqbal, and he had even addressed Deity and heard a reply from Him in his Urdu poems—*Shikwa* and *Jawabi-i-Shikwa*. He had studied Ibnul Arabi and Muarri, and was at least aware of *Futuhat-i-Makkia* and *Alghufran*. He had read vast literature on the *Miraj*. We have evidence to show that at one time he was planning to write a poem on the ascension of the Prophet. But there is no doubt that researches of Miguel Asin on the influence of Muslim sources on Dante attracted the attention of Iqbal. And his great poem finally took the shape of *Javid Namah*. Thus while Dante cannot be quoted as a source of inspiration for Iqbal, in a way he acted as a stimulant.

Dante's poem is divided into three parts, each part dealing with *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*. In *Paradiso* Dante visits the seven spheres, the Heaven of Fixed Stars, and Primum Mobile and the Empyrean. Iqbal does not visit *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* and instead of seven planets visits only six. Then he does not visit the Fixed Stars and the Primum Mobile but visits the Empyrean. It took Dante 10 years to write the *Divine Comedy* which contains 14,000 lines. It took Iqbal 3 years to write *Javid Namah* which contains nearly 4,000 lines. But comparison by the number of lines gives a very poor basis for judging the size of the two poems. Whereas Dante's line has 10 or 11 syllables, Iqbal's line has 22 syllables. Still it can be said that Iqbal has worked on a smaller canvas than Dante, but his subject is much vaster. While Dante is concerned with the resurgence of the Catholic religion and establishment of Italian unity, Iqbal deals with the very future of man.

Divine Comedy is the great epic of medieval Chatholicism as *Javid Namah* is an epic dealing with the order that Islam contemplates. For the Italians Dante reaches the highest pinnacle of their culture and civilisation and is regarded by them with just pride as their true national poet. Similarly for the Pakistanis Iqbal reaches the highest summit of their culture, and is regarded not only as the true national poet, but also the spiritual father of Pakistan. Whatever the sources of his inspiration by writing *Javid Namah*, Iqbal has created a cultural link between Italy and Pakistan that will last as long as there are people in this world who can appreciate great poetry.

Both Dante and Iqbal are super-craftsmen, and *Divine Comedy* and *Javid Namah* are great works of art. They both display many points of affinity as well as points of contrast, but it is not possible to deal with them here. But there are two points of contrast to which reference must be made here; one concerns the mysterious symbols that Dante uses and which commentators and students have failed to explain even to this day; the other is the crude and vulgar language in which Dante has referred to some religious leaders of humanity. These are serious blemishes in a work of art and are not found in Iqbal.

While Italian culture and arts always fascinated Iqbal, he could not visit that beautiful country till 1932, when on his way back home after attending the Round Table Conference in London he visited Rome. It was on this occasion that Iqbal wrote his famous lines on Rome:

سواد رومۃ الکبریٰ میں دلی یاد آتی ہے
وہی عبرت ، وہی عظمت ، وہی شان دلاویزی

In the suburbs of Rome one is reminded of Delhi,
The same story, the same grandeur and the same fascination.

During his stay in Rome Iqbal met Mussolini, and he was greatly impressed by the forceful personality of the Duce. While in no way subscribing to the cult of Fascism Iqbal could not help admiring the good work that Mussolini had done for Italy. In his poem on Mussolini he wrote:-

رومۃ الکبریٰ دگرگوں ہوگیا تیرا ضمیر
اینکہ می بینم بہ بیداری است یارب یا بخواب
نغمہ ہائے شوق سے تیری فضا معمور ہے
نغمہ ور کا منتظر تھا تیری فطرت کا رباب

Mighty Rome you have been transformed;
God Almighty what all I see is in a dream or in reality?
Acclamations of enthusiam rend thy air;
As if your guitar was just waiting for the artist's touch.

While admiring Mussolini Iqbal criticised his policy of colonial expansion severely, and when he invaded Abyssinia Iqbal wrote on 18th August 1935:

یورپ کے کرگسوں کو نہیں ہے ابھی خبر
ہے کتنی زہرناک ابی سینیا کی لاش

European vultures do not yet realise how poisonous is the carcass of Abbysinia.

And yet when the European nations criticised Mussolini for this venture in colonialism, Iqbal wrote defending him:-

کیا زمانے سے نرالا ہے مسولینی کا جرم
بے محل بگڑا ہے معصومان یورپ کا مزاج

In this poem Mussolini tells the European nations that he has done only what they have been doing all these years.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal was always attracted by the Italians and the Italian culture, and even in the domain of thought his ideas show a great affinity with the thought of the neo-Idealists of Italy. And it must be recorded that this attraction was not one-sided. Iqbal's first long poem in Persian language was published in 1915. It was translated in 1920 in English language by Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge. This translation attracted worldwide attention It was reviewed in the famous Italian Journal *Oriente Moderne* of Rome in 1922 by C. A. Nallino Since then a number of articles on Iqbal have appeared in this journal, the more important being one in 1932 by Marina Nallino, and in 1938 by G. Taffenel, and one by Dr. Riazul Hasan in 1940. Professor Bausani has also written several articles in *Oriente Moderne* and *East and West.* A few years ago a Pakistani Christian priest, Father Fernandez got his doctorate from Rome by submitting his thesis on Iqbal. Thus it will be seen that interest in Iqbal continues in Italy unabated.

But the greatest service that Italy has done to the cause of Iqbal studies is a translation of Iqbal's *Javid Namah* and other poems in Italian by Professor Bausani. Iqbal was always keen that his poem *Javid Namah* may be translated in a European language, and it is interesting to note that the first European language in which this poem was translated was Italian. Presenting this Italian translation to the Pakistan Minister in Rome in the massive hall of the Institute of the Middle and Far East Professor Tucci said "Last year on this very date, we met here to commemorate Muhammad Iqbal, in whom we all honour one of the major poets of Asia, one of those beings so favoured by fate, as to assemble in himself and express through the harmony of his verses,

those spiritual motives that mature in one's consciousness and in consequence act as inspirer of his generation. On that day last year we read some poems by Iqbal, and this resulted in everyone feeling an irresistible desire to know more about his works. Thus began the translation of the poem *Javid Namah* or *Poem Celeste* which Allessandro Bausani has completed with scrupulousness of a philologue and the soul of an artist. Today we are glad to offer you first copy of this edition". Professor Bausani has also translated a collection of Iqbal's poems which has been published as POESIE. Iqbal provides a cultural link between Pakistan and Italy, and it is hoped that this link will gain in strength as time goes on. By referring to such important figures in her history as Dante, Machiavelli, Mazzini, and Mussolini, Iqbal has depicted the soul of Italy. He has delineated the trials and tribulations through which the Italian people had to pass before they attained their present stature.

III

IQBAL: A BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

When human nature is overborne by worldliness and cynicism, it is the poets and thinkers who come to its rescue by revealing truths and realities which are either forgotten or concealed from common eyes. So far as the poet is concerned in doing this he is only performing his prophetic role which represents his highest office. According to Iqbal the aim of poetry as well as all art is to make human life rich and glorious by awakening man to the divine side of things. Through his art Iqbal tries to appeal to the higher side of human nature, and to strengthen it when it is overborne by material interests, and it can be said that the world has rarely seen so powerful and capacious a soul devote itself to art and a lofty end with such clear vision and singlenes of purpose. When Iqbal started writing poetry most of the East was under the domination of the West. As the East was beginning to show signs of awakening, the West was busy in extending her conquests as well as lulling the East to sleep. Although the West was economically and politically powerful and prosperous, there were beginning to appear on the horizon some dark clouds which foretold a dismal future for mankind. The prospect before man was very gloomy indeed which set Iqbal thinking. With increasing prescience he set about diagnosing the ills from which man was suffering. And once he had diagnosed the ills he got busy in finding a remedy for them. According to him this remedy consisted in creating a new world order based on the synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures. To achieve this he had to provide a bridge between East and West. And he provided this when laying down the outlines of the new world order in which both the individual and the society would develop harmoniously. Starting with the individual Iqbal could see that human society could exist peacefully and harmoniously only when the individuals composing it developed in a balanced way. So he devoted his energies to the study of factors and forces which fortify human personality, and he described these in a poem of great beauty and charm, *Asrar-i-Khudi*. This poem has been translated in English, and the translation has been published as *Secrets of the Self*. The factors which fortify human personality are :

(i) Love

(ii) *Faqr* which can be best described by the expression supreme indifference to the rewards the world has to offer.

(iii) Courage

(iv) Tolerance

(v) *Kasb-i-Halal*—which can be best translated as living on lawful earnings.

(vi) Taking part in original and creative activities.

All these factors have an important part to play in the development of human personality, but out of all these Love is by far the most important. For Iqbal Love is the regenerating spirit of the Universe, the spirit that should cut the Gordian knot of all man's perplexities and provide an antidote to all human vices.

Poets in all languages, mystics in all countries, metaphysicians in all religions, and thinkers in all languages have laid stress on the importance of Love in the development of human character, and they have described in beautiful language what they understand by Love, but rarely has any one laid so much stress on Love as a factor in the development of human personality or used the term in such a wide sense, as Iqbal. The following passage from Thomas-a-Kampis will give Western readers an idea of what Iqbal understands by Love: "Love feels no burden, thinks nothing of trouble, attempts what is above its strength, pleads no excuse of impossibility, for it thinks all things lawful for itself and all things possible. It is therefore able to undertake all things, and to complete many things, and bring them to a conclusion, where he who does not love, faints and lies down."

While referring to the importance of creativeness in the development of personality, Iqbal refers to the Quran which expressly mentions creators besides God. In fact according to Iqbal, the difference between a believer and a non believer is not one of theological belief or disbelief but is constituted in the fact that while a believer is a creator, a non-believer is not. The creative element in man raises him to the divine plane, frustration of the creative impulse distorts human character.

Iqbal maintains that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible unless it draws its spiritual sustenance from the group to which it belongs. On the other hand the group in its own interests owes a duty to the individual and so should interfere with his development as little as possible, and then only when common good demands it. For such an ideal society Iqbal has laid down seven essential requirements :

(i) It must be based on spiritual considerations demanding loyalty to God and not to thrones.

(ii) It must centre round inspired leadership or prophethood.

(iii) It must have a code for its guidance.

(iv) It needs a centre.

(v) It must have a goal—towards the attainment of which all its efforts must be directed.

(vi) It must try to gain superiority over the forces of nature.

(vii) It must safeguard maternity.

It will be seen that in his philosophy of ego, Iqbal does not only prescribe a complete scheme for the development of the individual, but has also described the essentials of the society which in its turn is most conducive to the development of the ego. In these prescriptions Iqbal only provides a bridge between East and West—supplementing Eastern listlessness by Western dynamism, enriching Western materialism by Eastern spiritualism. His political philosophy was based on two essential elements of Islam, the unity of God and the finality of Prophethood. Iqbal following Islam insists upon inner experience as a source of human knowledge and also on two sources, nature and history. Iqbal favoured various rationalist, traditionalist, and mystic movements in Islam encouraging a dynamic conception of the universe. He once raised the concept of the unity of human origin and of a sense of reality of time regarding life as a continuous movement in time. Here one sees a bridge between Muslim mystics and modern Western philosophers like Bergson. In fact this bridge can be seen throughout Iqbal's philosophy of ego, and other trends of his thought.

Having dealt with the development of the individual and the society, Iqbal wanted to write a poem analysing the causes which lead to the growth and decay of human culture. It is unfortunate that he could not find time to write this poem. But in all his subsequent compositions and works, poetry and prose, he describes the forces and factors which lead to stability and survival of a healthy culture. Iqbal saw the salvation of the human race only in the evolution of a healthy culture based on respect for human personality. And this culture can be developed only in the synthesis of Eastern and Western values of life. He was eminently qualified to act as a bridge between the two cultures because he knew well the defects and virtues of those ways of life. He knew Goethe,

Byron, and Browning as well as Rumi, Ghalib, and Bedil, the great Oriental poets. To attain a synthesis he wanted on the one hand to replace the Oriental spirit of listlessness and self-negation by the dynamic activism characteristic of the West, and on the other hand to revitalise emotionally arid intellectualism of the West by vital faith in spiritual values that underlies the Eastern culture. Emphasising the urgency and need for a synthesis between the Eastern and Western cultures, he wrote:

غربیان را زیرکی ساز حیات   شرقیان را عشق راز کائنات
زیرکی از عشق گردد حق شناس   کار عشق از زیرکی محکم اساس
خیز و نقش عالم دیگر بنه   عشق را با زیرکی آمیز ده

Javid Namah, p. 71

In the West the essence of life is the Intellect
In the East the basis of life is Love.
Through Love Intellect grows acquainted with Reality,
And Intellect gives stability to the world of Love,
Arise and lay the foundations of a new world,
By wedding Intellect to Love.

In the culture established as a result of this synthesis there will be no room for distinctions of colour and race and no lust for land and dominance. The basis of this synthesised culture will be provided by respect for human personality and the enthusiastic devotion to the study of sciences. Iqbal's own genius presented one of the best examples of this synthesis.

As just mentioned, Iqbal wanted to establish a new world order in which human dignity would be respected, and all artificial distinctions working against respect for human personality, such as considerations of race, colour, and creed would be abolished. As described above, Iqbal believed in the universal brotherhood of mankind and abhorred all artificial distinctions based on nationalism and regionalism. He described this new world order by criticising the existing orders. And it must be said that the old and the new, the progressive and the conservative, the communist and the capitalist, the Eastern and the Western cultures, all come in for a good deal of criticism at his hands. While he criticised European lust for power, political as well as economic, and foretold the gathering doom of Europe's rapacious civilization, he also described the pathetic futility of lifeless spiritualism and worship of worn-out shibboleths that take the place of religion in the East. While

he admired all that was worth admiring in any society or institution, he never hesitated to criticise all that deserved criticism. True to his Oriental traditions Iqbal laid great emphasis upon the inner man and yet he severely criticised the over-emphasis on the inner man at the expense of other values in the following words :

> "The cultures of Asia, and in fact of the whole ancient world, failed because they approached reality exclusively from within and moved from within outwards. This procedure gave them theory without power, and on mere theory, no durable civilisation can be based."
>
> *Reconstruction*, p. 189

On the other hand he described the defects of the Eastern culture in the following words :

> "Thus wholly over-shadowed by the results of his intellectual activity, the modern man has ceased to live soulfully, that is from within. In the domain of thought he is living in open conflict with himself, and in the domain of economic and political life he is living in open conflict with others."
>
> *Reconstruction*, p. 177

This criticism by Iqbal of Western culture led many students to believe that he condemned it totally. A deeper study will show that while he criticised each culture for its defects, he also admired its virtues wholeheartedly. Describing the insecurity of Western culture which according to Iqbal was carrying within itself, the germs of destruction, he once wrote :

پیر میخانہ یہ کہتا ہے کہ ایوان فرنگ   سست بنیاد بھی ہے آئنہ دیوار بھی ہے

The master of the Tavern says that the edifice of Western culture
Is based on insecure foundations and has walls of glass.

Bal-i-Jibril, p. 94

Referring to the instability of Western culture, mainly due to the fact that the unparalleled mastery over nature achieved by modern science in the absence of moral and spiritual development, constitutes a grave menace. Iqbal says :

یورپ از شمشیر خود بسمل فتاد   زیر گردوں رسم لادینی نهاد
خود بدانی بادشاهی قاهری است   قاهری در عصر ما سوداگری است

Pas cheh bayad kard, p, 56.

Europe fell a prey to its own sword,
It set up the law of secularism.
The aim of the new culture is to exploit man,
This exploitation is euphemistically called trade ;
Unless this system is rooted out,
True culture and religion will never be realised.

But Iqbal is not content merely with criticism, he also shows the way out of the difficulties created by man. According to him the only way out of this mess is giving religion its rightful place in the life of man :

اے کہ جاں را باز می دانی ز تن　　سحر ایں تہذیب لادینے شکن

O you who separate soul from body,
Break the spell of this secular culture.

Human reason must work within the limits imposed by the considerations of religion, and all scientific progress must be controlled by religious and moral ideals. As Iqbal says :

"The naturalism of the Quran is only a recognition of the fact that man is related to nature, and this relation in view of its possibility as a means of controlling her forces must be exploited in the interest not of unrighteous desire for domination but in the noblest interest of a free upward movement of spiritual life."

Reconstruction, p. 172

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that Iqbal's criticism of the West does not mean that he considers all is well with the East. As pointed out he wants to rebuild human society and with this object he subjects every existing culture to severe criticism. We have already referred to the unhealthy over-emphasis of the East on the inner man.

Another grave fault noted by Iqbal in the Eastern culture is the feeling of other-worldliness which has led Eastern people to neglect sciences. Addressing Eastern people Iqbal says :

اے کہ از تاثیر افیوں خفتۂ　　عالم اسباب را دوں گفتۂ
خیز و وا کن دیدۂ مخمور را　　دوں مخواں ایں عالم مجبور را

O thou who slumberest, by dull opiates drugged,
And namest mean this world material,
Rise up and open thy besotted eyes,
Call thou not mean thy world by Love compelled.

Iqbal attaches great importance to a scientific observer of Nature and regards him as a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer. Thus according to him all scientific work is of the same spiritual significance as prayer, bringing man in close touch with the Absolute. While the West was busy acquiring sway over the forces of Nature, by patient scientific work, the East was lagging behind, with the result that the Eastern nations could offer no resistance to the West's greed and lust for power. All this meant that while the West had power, the East had to be content with vision. As remarked by Iqbal, while Vision without Power may bring moral elevation it cannot secure stability and permanence for the culture. What is needed is a combination of Vision and Power which can help to uplift man in all fields—spiritual, moral, economic, and political.

Iqbal also criticised some other features of Eastern culture. It is a well-known fact that religion, in its higher manifestations, is neither dogma nor priesthood, nor ritual; it is something more. Yet we find in the Eastern countries that formal lifeless ritual and reverence for priesthood have replaced true religion. The net result is that in the East religion has ceased to be an effective influence in the life of man.

Iqbal further noticed that while in the West man was concerned mainly with the outside world, in the East people concentrated on the inner consciousness. He tried to effect a compromise by providing a bridge between these two extremes.

While many thinkers in East and West have devoted their thought to the problem of making this world a better place to live in, and they have suggested numerous ways to consummate this, one of which has been to build a bridge between East and West, several poets have also made great efforts to achieve this goal. Here we must refer to a great movement in Germany, known as Weltlateratur, the object of which was to present Eastern literature in the German language. Germany has always been more lucky in the possession of good translations from other languages. And this was partly due to the efforts of the Romanticists to realise universal poets. At the head of this movement was Schlegel. The Romanticists in Germany were not content merely with translating only European literary works. Their real object was to bring East and West together. Partly as a result of this great movement and partly as a result of his own restless nature which was always trying new

subjects and new forms of poetry, the great German poet Goethe (1749-1832) was always attracted by the East. As a Goethe scholar Karl Victor says: "The tradition of the East, to be sure, had always been an effective element in Goethe's spiritual life. From his youth he had an interest in the culture of the Middle East as well as that of Greece and Rome. The Quran he had studied as a young man and among the dramatic fragments of the early period was one intended to celebrate Muhammad as a 'religious genius'."

(Karl Victor: *Goethe, The poet,* 1949, Harvard University Press, p. 220)

The interest in Eastern culture was further stimulated by the translation of Hafiz by the Viennese Orientalist Joseph von Hammer Pagstall. Goethe read this in the summer of 1814. In the poetry of Hafiz, Goethe discovered somethig which not only attracted him but also had great affinity with trends in his own creative genius. The result of Goethe's introduction to Hafiz was that he received a great stimulus to a great creative effort, which resulted in the world having a fine collection of poetry in *West Ostlicher Divan*. Heine writes of the *Divan*: "The charm of the book is inexplicable; it is a votive nosegay sent from the West to the East, composed of the precious and curious plants: red roses, hortensias like the breast of a spotless maiden, purple digitalis like the large finger of a man, fantastically formed ranunculi and in the midst of all, silent and tactfully concealed, a tuft of German violets. This nosegay signifies that the West is tired of thin and icy-cold spirituality and seeks warmth in the strong and healthy bosom of the East" (E.A. Bowring: *The Poems of Goethe,* George Bell & Sons, London, 1881, p. 305)

The *Divan* consists of the following books, most of the books having Oriental names :

1. Moganni Namah
2. Hafiz Namah
3. Uschk Namah
4. Tafkir Namah
5. Rundsch Namah
6. Hikmat Namah
7. Tanvir Namah
8. Sulika Namah

9. Saki Namah
10. Mathl Namah
11. Farsi Namah
12. Chulk Namah

The *Divan,* on the whole, is a collection of fine and sublime poetry, and each book has its own charm. A work of such sublime beauty by a great artist, offering a bridge between East and West, challenged Iqbal and evoked a response in him. The *Divan* shows that according to the sage, for whom Iqbal had highest respect, the West needed spiritual sustenance from the East and after studying Eastern literature and poetry he provided this. This stimulated the creative genius of Iqbal and he offered to the West in his *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East), all that East had to give, but he went a step further. He described in the *Payam* several Western thinkers and poets: Lock, Nietzsche, Bergson, Einstein, Browning, and Byron. Thus in his Message he also touched upon what West had to give to the East. Iqbal provides a real bridge on which the future of mankind depends.

On the cover of the *Payam* are written the words: "In response to the *Divan* of the German poet". In the *Divan* Goethe wrote :

God is of the East possessed
God is ruler of the West ;
North and South alike each bud
Rests within the gentle hand.

On the cover of the *Payam* Iqbal has most appropriately quoted the following verse of the Quran :

"To God belong East and West".

What a refutation of Kipling when he says :

East is East and West is West
The twain shall never meet.

In his Introduction to the *Payam* Iqbal wrote: "I need hardly say anything about the *Payam-i-Mashriq* which has been written a hundred years after the Western *Divan.* The reader will himself see that its main object is to bring out those social, moral, and religious truths which have a bearing on the spiritual development of individuals and communities." Dedicating the book Iqbal wrote :

تا مرا رمز حیات آموخته　　آتشے در پیکرم افروخته
یک نوائے سینه تاب آورده ام　　عشق را عهد شباب آورده ام
پیر مغرب شاعر المانوی　　آن قتیل شیوه هائے پهلوی
بست نقش شاهدان شوخ و شنگ　　داد مشرق را صلائے از فرنگ
در جوابش گفته ام پیغام شرق　　ماه تابے ریختم بر شام شرق
او چمن زادے چمن پروردهٔ　　من دمیدم از زمین مردهٔ

Thus it will be seen that both Goethe and Iqbal have provided a bridge between East and West. Goethe wrote *West Ostlicher Divan* and Iqbal wrote *Message of the East*. According to Goethe the West had to learn a good deal from the East to restore spiritual warmth and moral balance in its life. According to Iqbal both East and West had a good deal to teach each other which can serve as a corrective to tendencies in contemporary thought.

In the past, West and East have produced great thinkers, scholars and poets who have tried by their work and thought to bring East and West close, and amongst these the contributions of Goethe and Iqbal are most significant, and humanity owes them both a deep debt of gratitude for this great service to mankind.

As we have remarked above the solution Iqbal offers to the grave crisis with which man is faced today is a synthesis of the two great elements—mind and body, reason and intuition, Knowledge and Love. It is by wedding Intellect to Love that man can avert the doom that is threatening him. This happy combination will give man emotional vitality and spiritual health, thereby ensuring his evolution on sound lines. Iqbal has remarked: "Humanity needs three things today – a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual and basic principle of a universal import, directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis."

Reconstruction, p. 179

Iqbal takes East sunk in Platonic contemplation to the West with her unlimited capacity for action based on scientific observation and interpretation of phenomena. At the same time he takes West absorbed in materialism to the spiritualism of the East. Leaders of thought in the world can make a great contribution to men's evolution by working earnestly to construct this bridge betweet East and

West on the lines shown by Goethe and Iqbal and other benefactors of mankind. Iqbal was gratified to notice any progress towards bringing out a synthesis. For example, referring to the spiritual movement of Islam toward the West he says: "The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for the European culture on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement, and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture."

Reconstruction, p. 7

IV

IQBAL IN POLITICS

In order to realise the true significance of the contribution Iqbal made to the politics of the sub-continent one has to understand the historical background in which he worked. This means a historical survey of the twelve centuries of Muslim contact with the sub-continent. This contact started with Muslim Conquest of Sind in 712 by that intrepid 16-year old Arab General Muhammad bin Qasim.[1] This invasion was followed by attacks from the north when Subaktagin of Ghazni came into conflict with his neighbour Jaipal. His son Mahmud invaded the sub-continent seventeen times between 999 and 1025, and was eventually successful in annexing the Punjab to his empire. In course of time the house of Ghazni was supplanted by the dynasty of Ghor and Shahabuddin Ghori, a scion of the dynasty conquered the Kingdom of Delhi in 1192. From 1192 to 1526 five Turkish or Afghan dynasties ruled at Delhi.[2]

The Mughuls succeeded the Turco-Afghans in 1526 when Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi on the plains of Panipat. The Mughuls ruled on the sub-continent from 1526 to 1857, with one break, but the disintegration of the great empire had set in 1707, the year in which Aurangzeb the last great Mughul emperor died. Towards the year 1748 the once mighty Mughul empire was virtually reduced to a mere strip of land round Delhi. This disintegration continued during the next hundred years till 1858, the year in which the last Emperor of the family, Emperor Bahadur Shah was deported to Rangoon by the British.

During the disintegration which set in after Aurangzeb's death there were attempts at Hindu resurgence through the Marhattas and the Jats. As the kaleidoscopic changes in the politics of the sub-continent progressed the one event which characterised the whole process was the progress of the British East India Company. Like other European nations the British also came to the sub-continent as traders The East India

1. Hafeez Malik : *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan* pp. 1-2.
2. Oxford History of India.

Co. was founded on 31st December 1600.[1] This Company succeeded in extending the field of its commercial operations, and during Shah Jehan's reign they obtained from him the privilege of trading in Bengal.

About this time there appeared on the scene a remarkable British soldier who by intrigues and military power, succeeded in establishing British supremacy in the Bengal province of the sub-continent. Similarly the defeat of the French in three Carnatic wars established British supremacy in the South.

While the British were busy consolidating their power in Bengal and Southern India an event of extraordinary importance happened in Northern India. The Marhattas, whose power was gaining strength and who can well be regarded as a symbol of Hindu resurgence were routed by Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Battle of Panipat in 1761. This was a God-send for the British.

Here a reference must be made to the two Muslim States in Southern India—Hyderabad and Mysore. As a result of the French defeat in the Carnatic Wars the Nizam of Hyderabad became a vassal of the British. In Mysore Tipu Sultan put up a spirited fight against the British and had inflicted on them a crushing defeat at Mangalore (1783). In the fourth Mysore War (1799) Tipu Sultan was killed, his sons were deprived of the right of succession, and a Hindu ruler was put on the throne of Mysore. Thus the last vestige of Muslim power disappeared from Southern India. Towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century two events of great importance for the Muslims occurred. In 1843, Sind, the oldest possession of the Muslims on the sub-continent was conquered by Sir Charles Napier. On 7th February, 1856 Oudh was finally annexed by the British.

Thus it will be seen that by 1857 most of the country had passed under the British rule except for those Indian States which had accepted a position of vassalage. For the Muslims these were the days of great humiliation and frustration. From a position of supremacy they were reduced to one of extreme political and economic degradation. Naturally there were feelings of antagonism and opposition against the ascendancy of the British as a military and political power, both amongst the Muslims and the Hindus. And the result was an uprising which started in Meerut on 10th May, 1857. During the first four

1. Oxford History of India.

months the British authorities, taken by surprise, were paralysed and were unable to act. The timely arrival of the British troops in Calcutta, who were actually on their way to China, saved the East India Co. The uprising was suppressed and the British Crown took over the Government of India in 1858, and the East India Company vanished from the stage of Indian history.

Although even before the uprising the Muslims had suffered heavily at the hands of the British, after the suppression of the uprising began a period of systematic persecution and political annihiation. There were mass hangings of the Muslims all over the country. Their properties were confiscated, their houses dug up in search for loot, and their belongings and houses were sold almost for nothing to the Hindus. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has said: "After 1857 heavy hand of the British fell more on the Muslims than on the Hindus".[1] This is understating truth. A Hindu historian has remarked: "The British Government, till 1857, was mostly pro-Hindu looking upon the Muslims as their implacable enemies. One Governor General even boasted that he had revenged the sack of Somnath by his destruction of Ghazni and by his removing the gate of the historic temple."[2]

Although it is a fact that the Muslims and the Hindus lived as quite different people and never mixed, never intermarried or interdined there was no open hostility between the two people. This was definitely encouraged by the British imperialists in furtherance of their own nefarious objects. The Hindus could also see that it was better for them to realign their policy in accordance with the wishes of the new masters. The advantages to be gained thereby far outweighed the advantages that could possibly be gained as a result of good relations with the Muslims. Thus the Muslims had not only to face persecution at the hands of the British but also fierce political, economic, and at times physical struggles with the Hindus. As Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has remarked "By the end of the Mutiny the Musalmans high and low, were brought down by these series of events to the lowest depths of broken pride, black despair, and general penury. Without prestige, without education and without resources the Muslims were left to the Hindus. The British pledged to neutrality were indifferent to the result of

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1. Jawahar Lal Nehru: *An autobiography*, John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1941, p 460.
2. K.M. Pannikar, *A Survey of Indian History*, p. 268.

the struggle between the communities. The result was that the Musalmans completely suffered in the struggle".[1] Although the British professed neutrality they were really more interested in the annihilation of the Muslims than even the Hindus.

The Muslims were faced with a desperate and gloomy situation. At this critical time in their history there appeared a remarkable man Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) who can be regarded as the founder of the Muslim integration in the sub-continent. Sir Syed Ahmad fought for his people on every front, and it is impossible to describe his services to his people in a brief sketch. But perhaps his greatest service was that he gave his people a sense of separate existence and fought against the introduction in the sub-continent democracy of the Western type After retirement he was nominated a member of the Governor-General's Council. In a speech in the Council in 1883 he said: —"The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and the interests of the majority of the population. But, my Lord in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious differences are still violent, where education in the modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests in the local boards and district councils would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations... The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community".[2] As regards suppression of the Muslims by the Government a British writer says: "There is no use shutting our ears to the fact that the Indian Muhammadans arraign us on a list of charges as serious as have ever been brought against a Government. In a word, the Indian Mussalmans arraign against the British Government for its want of sympathy, for its want of magnanimity, for the malversion of their funds, for the great public wrongs spread over a period of one hundred years."[3]

In 1909 was passed the Indian Councils Act of 1909, generally known as Morley-Minto Reforms. The importance of the Morley-Minto Reforms, from the Muslim point of view, was that they conceded the

1. B R Ambedkar: *Pakistan*, p 31.
2. *Pakistan, The Struggle of a Nation*, p. 14
3. Sir William Hunter: *Our Indian Mussalmans, Comrade Press, Calcutta.*

Muslim demand for separate electorates. It is impossible for those living in homogeneous societies, or in those multi-religious societies where religion plays no important part in man's life, to understand the principle of "Separate electorates". But in a country where religion is understood to denote different nationalities the only way to grant proper representation to different groups is to admit the principle of separate electorate. Any other course would tantamount to annihilation of the minorities. English politicians, on the whole, failed to understand this. Reasonable Hindu leaders admitted the inevitability of the system.

The second instalment of reforms was granted to India in 1919. These were known as the Montague Chelmsford Reforms. The system of separate electorates was not viewed with favour, but it was allowed to continue. We have already referred to the fact that the Muslims and the Hindus lived in the country as separate people with occasional exhibitions of open hostility. But after the First World War certain circumstances brought the Hindus and the Muslims closer mainly as a result of what is known as the Khilafat movement—a movement to ensure that Muslim holy places remained in Muslim possession and that Turkey was not dismembered. But in 1923 cracks appeared in the Hindu-Muslim unity. The causes which contributed immensely to increase in friction between the Hindus and the Muslims of the sub-continent was the organisation of the Shudhi and Sangathin movement by the Hindus. The aim of the former movement is to reduce the Muslim population by a process of reconversion and of the latter to organise a private army to exterminate the remaining Muslim population. The result was that relations between the two nations became poisoned and a series of riots made them worse. We have described the historical background of the Muslims on the subcontinent with special reference to the political and economic difficulties which the Muslims had to face as a result of the antagonistic attitude of the ruling power and the aggressiveness of the Hindus. It is not possible to understand the true significance of Iqbal's politics without a full understanding of this background.

It is true that Iqbal did not take any active part in the politics of the sub-continent for a long time. During this period he was busy in creating political consciousness and a sense of integration amongst his people. Once this was done and he realised that time was ripe for him to take an active part in politics he never hesitated for a moment. But even when he kept himself aloof from active politics he continued to take interest in the politics of the sub-continent While a student in

England he attended the meetings of the Muslim League held under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Amir Ali. On return to the Punjab he took an active interest in the affairs of the Punjab Muslim League But from 1913 to 1923 he abstained from any active political work. The reasons can only be surmised. This was the time when Iqbal was busy developing his philosophy and writing his epoch-making poems *Asrar i-Khudi, Rumuz-i-Bekhudi, Khizr-i-Rah and Tulu-i-Islam etc.* During this period the Muslim political leaders were definitely thinking of rapprochement with the Hindu aggressive political ambitions garbed under the cloak of nationalism, which finally resulted in the Lucknow Pact. Iqbal was never tired of criticising the Lucknow Pact which had turned Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal into minorities. Whatever may be the reasons for that, but it is a fact that Iqbal did not take any active part in politics during this period. It was in 1923 that Iqbal was persuaded by certain friends to stand for election to the Punjab Legislative Council and he was quite willing to do so. But his supporters wanted him to stand from Lahore, a seat for which Mian Abdul Aziz was also a candidate. As Mian Abdul Aziz was an old friend Iqbal decided not to contest the election. Finally he stood for elections to the Council in 1926, and was elected by an overwhelming majority. He remained a member of the Punjab Legislative Council from 1926 to 1929 and took great interest in the proceedings of the Council. It was about this time that the British Government decided to appoint a Commission under Sir John Simon (later Lord Simon) to investigate methods of introducing constitutional reforms in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This was really as a result of agitation against the Montague-Chelmsford reforms introduced in 1919.

The announcement of the Commission led to division of public opinion on the sub-continent as to whether there should be co-operation with the Commission or not. This split also affected the Muslim League. The main body of the Muslim League led by the Quaid-i-Azam decided to boycott the Commission, but an influential section of the Muslim leaders led by Sir Mohammad Shafi thought that boycotting the Commission was against the interests of the Muslims. These leaders led by Sir Mohammad Shafi formed a separate Muslim League, which was known as Shafi League, and Iqbal was elected Secretary of this League. The Council of the Shafi League at its meetings held in Lahore, and attended by Iqbal decided the lines on which the memorandum to be submitted to the Commission was to be

prepared. The main point was insistence on provincial autonomy. But when the memo was actually prepared Iqbal was out of Lahore, and he saw the memo only on his return. He was very disappointed to see that recommendations referring to provincial autonomy were utterly disregarded by the Committee which had prepared the Memo. So Iqbal resigned from the Shafi League, but his resignation was never accepted, and instead the memorandum eventually submitted to the Commission was modified in accordance with Iqbal's recommendations. And Iqbal was actually a member of the delegation which gave evidence before the Simon Commission on behalf of the Shafi League.

Meanwhile Iqbal continued to take an active interest in the proceedings of the Legislative Council. On 23rd February 1928 he made an interesting speech on land revenue, during the course of which he remarked: "Let me tell the honourable representative for Simla that the first European author to refute this (theory of State ownership of land) was the Frenchman Perron in the year 1777. Later in 1830 Briggs made a very extensive inquiry as to the law and practice in India and relating to the theory of State ownership of land. He gave in his book an accurate description of the laws of Manu, if Muslim law and the practice prevailing in the various parts of India—Bengal, Malwa, the Punjab etc., and arrived at the conclusion that in no period in the history of India the State ever claimed proprietorship of land".

On 10th March, 1937 speaking on education Iqbal said: "A disinterested foreign Government in this country is a contradiction in terms. The foreign Government in this country wants to keep people ignorant. A foreign Government is a kind of Roman Catholic Church trying to suppress all agencies that tend to enlighten the country. Can anybody deny in this House or outside the House that mass education is absolutely essential in the interests of the people......... Therefore my submission is that so far as primary education is concerned, it is absolutely necessary in the interests of the province to adopt the principle of compulsion at once".

On 1st January, 1929 Iqbal attended the Muslim Conference held in Delhi under the Chairmanship of the Agha Khan. The Conference passed a resolution insisting on separate electorates, separation of Sind from Bombay, introduction of reforms in the N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan, introduction of Federal Government in the country with residuary powers in the Provinces and reservation of one-third seats in the Federal Legislature for the Muslims. In 1930 Iqbal presided at

the annual session of the Muslim League in his presidential address said : "I would like to see the Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sind and Bluchistan amalgamated into a single State, self-governing with the British Empire. The formation of a consolidated North West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India."

The Simon Commission finished its work in the country in April, 1929, and submitted its report to the British Government in the middle of 1930, But even while the Commission was busy collecting evidence in the country there was so much agitation against its composition and modus operandi than in October 1929 the Victory annunced that the British Government proposed to call a Round Table Conference in London to consider the question of future constitutional reforms in the sub-continent· The First Round Table Conference commenced its work towards the close of 1930 and finished on 19th January, 1931. Iqbal did not attend this Conference. The Second Round Table Conference started work iu September, 1931 and finished on 1st December, 1931, Iqbal attended this Conference which was also attended by Mr. Gandhi. At this Conference two Committees were formed, the Minorities Committee and the Federal Structure Committee. But the members could arrive at no agreed solution of the communal problem. So the delegation wrote a letter to the British Prime Minister requesting him to give an award. The Prime Minister gave the award in August 1932. As soon as the Award was announced, Iqbal issued a statement in the course of which he said: "I honestly believe that no community has a more genuine grievance against the decision than the Muslims. Indeed I can not explain to myself as how the British conscience has tolerated this injustice".

In 1931 a Conference of Muslim leaders was held in Bhopal and Iqbal attended it also.

The Third Round Table Conference was held from 17th November, 1932 to 24th December, 1932. Iqbal attended this Conference also.

On 21st March, 1932 Iqbal presided over the deliberations of the All-India Muslim Conference held at Lahore. In his presidential address he declared: "I suggest that the Indian Muslims should have only yne political organisation with provincial and districts boards all over the country. Ca l it whatever you like. What is essential is that its constitution must be such as to make it possible for any school of political

thought to come into power and guide the community according to its own ideas and methods."

As a matter of fact it was mainly Iqbal who about this time brought the two branches of the Muslim League together, and then persuaded the Muslim Conference to get amalgamated with rhe League. About this time Iqbal also attended a number of meetings of the Council of the Muslim Conference held in Delhi and Simla,

From 1931 to 1934 the Muslim League had suffered a great deal in influence and popularity and Mr. Jinnah was so disappointed that he had gone and settled in England in 1941. He was pursuaded to return to the sub-continent in 1934, On his return he took up the work of revitalising the League. In 1935 the Government of India Act was passed, so all political parties including the Muslim League got busy in connection with the preparation for the forthcoming elections. In its sessions held at Bombay had 1936 the League in authorised Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Parliamentary Board. But Mr. Jinnah received no co-operation from any province, and no Muslim leaders were willing to help in revltalisting the League. The Muslims were at this time so badly disorganised that, as a writer has remarked: "But the midst of all this darkness there *shone* a flickering light in Lahore". This was Iqbal.

In order to carry out the directions of the League Mr. Jinnah went to Lahore in 1936 and stayed there for 4 days. During this stay he met Sir Fazli Hussain who had come back to the Punjab after finishing his term as a member of the Victory's Executive Council and asked him to from the Punjab Parliamentary Board on behalf of the League. But this gentleman simply refused to co-operate and rudely asked the Quaid-i-Azam to leave the Punjab. In despair the Quaid-i-Azam turned to Iqbal who willingly undertook to organise the work for the Punjab Parliamentary Board. Iqbal called for a meeting of the Punjab League Council on 30th May, 1936, which re-elected him as President of the Punjab League.

Iqbal organised the League Office and tried to open branches of the League jn the districts. For the 1937 elections under the new reforms he invited applications. Unfortunately only 9 candidates applied out of with the Parliamentary Board selected 7. Out of these 7 Muslim League candidates, only 2 were elected. This was a gloomy state of affairs, but the Quaid-i-Azam, with his foresight, saw in these

gallant efforts of ailing Iqbal the beginning of that fight against the treacherous intrigues of Sir Fazli Hussain and Sir Sikander Hayat which eventually gave the Muslims a free homeland. When informed on the disappointing results of elections by the Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League, the Quaid wrote back a very encouraging reply.

In spite of the poor results achieved at che elections Iqbal continued his work with enthusiasm. But Sir Sikander Hayat was determined to destroy the Muslim League. and so he resorted to other tricks. Accompanied by a large number of followers he attended the Lucknow sessions of the League and some how other persuade the Quaid to agree to what is known as the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. Iqbal was opposed to this pact from the beginning but like a true soldier he continued to carry out Quaid's orders, Iqbal wanted the sessions of the League in Lahore to deal with the Shahidganj Mosque affair but Sir Sikander was opposed to it. So the session was held in Culcutta. At this session the League, as organised by Iqbal, was disaffiliated by the Central League Office a few days before Allama breathed his last. This was a cruel blow that those in charge of the affairs of the League dealt to Iqbal who had worked for the organisation of that body so selflessly.

Thus it will be seen under what difficulties Iqbal worked for the Muslim cause. Faced with infiuential opponents like Sir Fazli Hussain and Sir Sikander Hayat, and with the British Satrap and his agents all arrayed against him, he continued his work with determination and singleness of purpose. At times he even reminded Quaid-i-Azam of the role that he was to play. In a letter he wrote to the Quaid-i-Hzam. "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India".

The Quaid-i-Azam recognised, the part played by Iqbal in strengthening the Muslim League. He once wrote: "It was a great achievement for the Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority Provinces, Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicious part though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this conservation".

While recounting Iqbal's political services to the Muslims of the sub-continent mention must also be made of the way he fought for the Muslims of Alwar and Kashmir against their Hindu rulers. And nearer

home, in the Shahidgunj Mosque case it was Iqbal only who helped and guided the Muslims, while the leaders in power refused to take any interest in the matter.

When Iqbal died Quaid-i-Azam sent the followlng message to his son: "To mehe was a friend, guide a philosopher, and during the darkest moment through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment".1 This message is an index to the regard the Father of the nation had for the services of Iqbal in the field of politics. The loss of political power by the Muslims on the sub-continent is a very dismal story, but the attainment of a free homeland is an inspiring story. It is a story of great sacrifices, blood and sweat through a period in which Islam produced some very great men. To name some of these one has only to mention Shah Waliullah, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk, Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Zafar Ali Khan, Quaid-i-Azam and Iqbal. As remarked by the Oxford History of India Sir Syed gave the Muslims a sense of separate existence and Iqbal gave them a sense of separate destiny.

V

IQBAL THE POET OF PAKISTAN

The most striking feature about Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of Pakistan is the prodigious versatility of his genius. Here was a man who has given us some of the finest poetry of the world, but who was also a philosopher of eminence, an educationalist of repute, a respected politician, and a renowned lawyer. For similar examples of omnicompetence one has to go to Leonardo de Vinci and Goethe. It is not possible to describe the career of such a versatile genius in a brief sketch; so we shall confine ourselves to a study of his philosophy and poetic art with a reference to his role as the architect of Pakistan. Several great poets of the world held their own well-defined views on particular problems, and have expressed these in their poetry, but the case of Iqbal was unique in the way that not only was he a profound student of philosophy, Eastern and Western, but also developed his own composite philosophy, which dealt with the fundamental problems facing mankind, like man's relations with God and the Universe, his Freedom and Immortality. Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge has remarked "During his stay in the West he studied modern philosophy in which subject he held degree from thc Universities of Cambridge and Munich. His dissertation on the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, an illuminating sketch, appeared as a book in 1908. Since then he has developed a philosophy of his own." We cannot understand Iqbal without understanding his philosophy, for his poetry is as remarkable for its thought content as for its artistic beauty and charm.

Iqbal's philosophy is the philosophy of Self; Self provides for him a high-road to metaphysics, and it is the intuition of Self which makes metaphysics possible for him. On the other hand Kant asks "Is Metaphysics possible"? and says "No." Now the question arises : "What is the nature of the Self"? According to Iqbal the Self is directive in its essential nature, and the life of Self lies essentially in its will-attitudes. Its very existence depends upon action, and desires. All desires move in the same direction; they presuppose an environment. Thus the life of the Self or Ego depends upon its having established some connections with an objective reality—the world, the community, society or the Ultimate Reality. Thus the

Self or Ego has to confront a non-ego at every step. Here an important question arises : Is activity of the Ego determined by its own self or by things external to it? that is to say, are we free or not? According to Iqbal Ego is free, and all evaluation by Ego is also free. Not only is the Ego free, it is also immortal. Action confers on us the intimation that Self is immortal. But immortality is to be achieved by personal effort. Having determined the nature of the Self, the next question is the nature of the Universe, the immediate non-ego with which the self has to contend. According to Iqbal the external world exists and is real. It is true that our perceptions reveal to us a reality, a reality that cannot be devised; but we have to determine as to what is its essential nature. The classical physicists hold that its nature is material. It consists of atoms existing in space. Iqbal does not agree with this view. According to Iqbal matter is not a persistent thing lying in space. It is a system of inter-related events. According to Iqbal the nature of matter can be revealed neither by sense-perception nor by thought. Like sense-perception thought too assumes reality to be static and fixed. Thus all philosophic thought starts with a natural prejudice about the nature of the Universe. According to Iqbal the nature of the material world is that of the Self: it is life.

The Universe, on the analogy of our own self is of a free, creative character. It is of the nature of life. All life however, is free, creative, and original. The Universe, therefore, is a constantly growing universe which is bursting or burgeoning at every point. There is no final state to the Universe. The Universe is of the nature of a free creative will.

Iqbal regards the ultimate Ego also as of the nature of the Self. On the analogy of the Self, the Ultimate Reality has an Ego-hood, that is to say He has consciousness of His own "I-am-ness" like us, but His "I-am-ness" does not lie within the grasp of our experience. By regarding the Universe as the Ego Iqbal parts company with the pantheists, and the fact that he holds the Ultimate ego to be a Personality with attributes of creativeness, omniscience, and eternity make him a theist. But as Iqbal's God comprehends the whole Universe and in Him alone the finite Egos finds their being, his conception of the Ultimate Ego differs from that of old theists. A personal God is not necessarily opposed to the being and freedom of a finite ego. Thus it will be seen that Iqbal, starting with the individual Ego as a centre of will and energy, worked out his conception of God, indivi-

dual freedom of will and his conditioned immortality, man's relation to God and the Universe. According to him there is a gradual rising note of Egohood in the whole Universe. We are conscious of it firstly in our own self, secondly in the objective nature before our eyes, and thirdly in the ultimate principle of all life, namely God. It will be correct to say that Iqbal's philosophy is the philosophy of Egohood.

But perhaps the most interesting part of Iqbal's philosophy is that in which he lays down discipline necessary for the development of human egos. According to him the factors which will fortify the human ego are.

(1) Love:

(2) Indifference to the rewards that the world has to offer;

(3) Courage;

(4) Tolerance;

(5) Living by one's own effort;

(6) Taking part in original and creative activities.

Factors which serve to weaken human Ego are:

(1) Fear;

(2) Beggary which according to Iqbal includes all exploitation also;

(3) Slavery whlch includes economic and political exploitation and denial of human rights;

(4) Pride of extraction which includes all considerations based on colour and race.

Human Ego when developed according to the regimen prescribed by Iqbal, cannot live in isolation. It must live in a society. The society must be so organised as to encourage the development of ego and the egos themselves must contribute to the welfare of the society. Such a society must be organised on spiritual considerations. Thus it will be seen that in Iqbal's philosophy of Ego there is a message of hope and cheer for distracted humanity. As remarked above what is remarkable is that Iqbal's poetry is also full of his thoughts and philosophy.

Iqbal started writing poetry while at school in Sialkot, a small town in West Pakistan. Poems written about this time followed

the classical traditions, and laid emphasis only on the form completely ignoring the thought content. When his thought developed Iqbal's poetry assumed a universality of appeal. He was the combination of poetical fluency and intellectual grasp. In his poetic art Iqbal was, to a great extent, an expressionist. The first great expressionist was Plotinus. According to him beauty of a piece of art comes not from the material, but from the form which operates in the mind of the artist. This form the artist confers upon the material from his own inner resources.

According to Croce, the chief exponent of expressionism, art is the outpouring of artist's emotion in the form of image, vision or intuition. Four main tenets of this theory are :-

(i) Art is an autonomous activity fee from ethics :

(ii) Artistic activity is distinct from the activity of the intellect ;

(iii) Art consists in unfolding the personality of the artist;

(iv) Appreciation is the reliving of the artist's experience.

Iqbal rejects the first tenet and subscribes to the second only partially. But he agrees with the third and fourth tenets. The result is that according to Iqbal all art is subjective. But in addition to his expressionism Iqbal also believes in functionalism. For the functionalists art has a goal or purpose. Amongst the functionalists we have two schools of thought. According to the first school the purpose of art is to give pleasure. To this school belong Aristotle, St. Augustus, Hume and Santayana. According to the second school the principle of Art is life itself. To this school belong Plato, Ruskin, Tolstoy, Bernard Shaw and Iqbal. According to Iqbal the first aim of art is life itself. Art must create a yearning for eternal life. The second aim of art is the making of men. The third aim is social advance. In short, the true function of art is vitalisation of life, man, and society. Thus it will be seen that Iqbal's conception of art as a functionalist coincides with his philosophy of Ego. But this position creates a paradox. On the one hand Iqbal makes art subservient to morality, on the other hand he regards it as expression of the artist's personality. Iqbal's expressionalism as theory of art must be accepted as basis and this functionalism must be subserved under it to give his system a unity. Purpose which lies outside must be brought within

the sphere of expressionism. Expressionism cannot find a place in functionalism, but his functionalism can be brought under his expressionism.

Referring to his functionalism Iqbal says :

"The ultimate end of all human activity is life—glorious, powerful, exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose, and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakes our dormant will-force and serves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to Reality around, on the mastery of which life depends, is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium eating in Art. The dogmā of Art for the sake of Art is a clear invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power."

It is the poet's heart that Beauty unveils,
It is from his Sinai that Beauty's beams arise;
By his look the fair is made fairer;
Through his magic Nature becomes more enchanting.

As regards his functionalism Iqbal says :
O wise ones it is nice to have a thirst for knowledge ;
But the vision that fails to see the essence of things is useless ;
The object of all art is to attain the warmth of life immortal,
What is the good of a spasm or two like sparks;
Without a miracle nations do not rise ;
What is art without the striking power of Moses' Staff.
Zarb-i-Kalim, p. 117

With this insight into Iqbal's conception of Art it will be easy to appreciate his poetry. The keynote of his poetic art is a desire to impress upon mankind those great truths which alone can bring about the amelioration of man. His main object is to come to the help of his readers in the struggle of life. To achieve this it is essential that he must sing of life.

Iqbal's poetry has a universal appeal because all his poems are suffused with optimism. The universal appeal of his poetry lies in the fact that he is not only a teacher and thinker, but also a seer and a prophet of humanity. For Iqbal the two powerful impulses to artistic expression are his faith in the human capacity for limitless

development, and man's unique position in the universe. Both these impulses impart to his poetry a grandeur and charm that has a universal appeal. In addition to these there is the vast range of his poetry. Apart from the dramatic, there is no kind of poetry that he did not write. He wrote lyric, metaphysical, epic and satire poetry. He wrote elegies and odes. He wrote quatrains, a form specially associated with Omar Khayam. In each kind of poetry his work will stand comparison with that of the world's greatest. His philosophic poetry reminds one of Rumi, the greatest mystic poet of Persian language, his epic poetry brings to mind that of Dante and Milton. His lyrics resemble those of Shelley, Pindar and Hafiz. His elegies stand comparison with those of Shelley and Tennyson. His description of Nature recalls Wordsworth.

The difficulties which attend the study of the art of such a master-craftsman cannot be overemphasised. But the chief characteristic of Iqbal's poetic art is a synthesis of classicism and romanticism. To Illustrate this synthesis we can do no better than quote from Iqbal's poem *Taskhīr-i-Fītrat.* In this poem Iqbal tells us the story of the fall of man, giving an account of the birth of Adam and Satan's disobedience. Satan's character is highly romantic and he believes in a life of excitement and action. His chief characteristics are the love of life and a passion for action. His fall is due to the fact that his rebellious nature makes him unfit to exercise any self control. The keynote to his complete character is his refusal to agree, to be delighted in discord His tragedy lies in the fact that he cannot change his destiny. When he is ordered by God to do obeisance to man he replies :

I am not foolish like the creatures of light to bow before Adam.
He is made of clay, I am fire by origin.
My fire makes the blood course through veins of creation.
I possess the speed of the tempest and the noise of the thunder.
Thou hast created the stars, I cause them to move ;
I am the life of all in the world, the life latent in everything.
Thou givest life to the body, I infuse warmth into life ;
Thou showest the way to peaceful rest ; I lead towards restless strife ;
The man of earthly origin, foolish and short-sighted,
Is born in Thy lap, but attaineth maturity in mine.

Payam-e-Mashriq p. 97.

Penalised for his disobedience, Satan plans the fall of man tempting Adam. He points out to Adam that the peaceful life in Paradise is insipid because it lacks the warmth and fire of passion. If Adam wants to enjoy life in the real sense he has to create passion.

A life of ceaseless strife is better than one of perpetual peace;
The dove becomes a falcon when struggling under a snare;
You know naught except submission;
Arise like the erect cypress, O slow in action;
Know ye not that union only means the end of desire,
The secret of eternal life is in ceaseless burning.

Payam-e-Mashriq p. 98

Adam follows Satan's advice and on leaving Eden he experiences pleasant thrills amidst the tumults and distractions of life, and these thrills impart a new intererest to his life. He says :

How pleasant it is to make life a continuous struggle,
To melt with a single breath the heart of the mountain, the forest, and the desert,
I am all an imperfect burning - all a painful longing;
I give away certainty for doubt as I am the victim of a ceaseless quest.

Payam-i-Mashriq p. 99

Althouh man falls a victim to the guiles of Satan eventually he gains a triumph over him In the final scene Man appears before God and while admitting his sin he submits that to attain development of his personality it was necessary for him to succumb to the temptation held out by Satan :-

Although his guile has led me astray from the path of rectitude,
Forgive my wrong and accept my excuse for the sin ;
To acquaint his feelingless nature with the warmth of desire,
It was necessary for me to follow Satan ;
Reason ensnares the nature endowed with cunning and guile;
Satan born of fire makes obeisance to man of clay.

Payam-e-Mashriq p. 110

The whole poem is a masterpiece and illustrates how fusion of classicism and romanticism adds to the charm of poetry in the hands of a master-craftsman like Iqbal and Goethe.

Another important feature of Iqbal's art is symbolism. It must be mentioned here that the value and significance of symbols was exalted by Urdu and Persian poets even before the symbolist movement became popular in Europe, but it was left to Iqbal to give to Symbolism in these languages a new direction, a new intensity. Iqbal's symbols do not inform, but suggest and evolve; they do not name things but create their atmosphere. The charm and appeal of his symbols lies mainly in the fact that they differ fundamentally from those used by other poets in Urdu and Persian. To give a few examples, Abraham and Namrud, and Moses and Pharaoh, only signified a tragic episode of religious persecution, but for Iqbal they represent thc eternal struggle between good and evil ; Farhad and Parvez two rival lovers for the hand of a girl signified for others only rivalry in love, but for Iqbal they represented Love and Intellect; Mahmud and Ayaz signified for others a despotic King and a slave but for Iqbal they stand for Capital and Labour. He described stars as" harvest-gatherers in night's farm."

Another notable feature of Iqbal's poetry is his mysticism. For Iqbal mysticism was only another form of intellect. The progress of modern physics, especially the discoveries of Einstein have made us realise that Reality cannot be known by purely intellectual method and the mystic sense in man remains the only approach to Reality. In the history of mysticism there are two separate schools of thought which can be described as Mysticism of Infinity and Mysticism of personality. The former school is represented by the system of Platun and in the mysticism of the Upanashidas, especially in Shankara's theory of *Advaita*, but also in Islamic mysticism by those who believe in *Wahdat-al-Wujud*, and in the *Itlaquiyat Tariqat* found in modern Turkey. Here, the Numen is the Being beyond all Being or the Not Being, the Infinite, Timeless and Spaceless, which is far away from our human thoughts and is mostly symbolised as the boundless ocean in which every being vanishes like a drop. But Iqbal with his philosophy of Self does not believe in this mysticism of Infinite. Iqbal believes in the mysticism of personality Here the relation between man and God is personal. The effect of this mysticism on his art is that it portrays

healthy sentiments which will interest healthy minds in all ages and in all countries. The following examples will illustrate this :-

Why should I ask the wise about my origin ?
I am always waiting to know about my goal ;
Develop thy self so that before every desire
God will ascertain : "What is thy wish"?
Thou art the limitless ocean and I am a tiny rivulet ;
Either make me Thy equal or turn me limitless at least ;
Why didst thou order me to quit the Garden of Eden ;
Now there is much to be done in the world, so wait a while.

Bal-i-Jibril p. 8

Thus it will be seen that in Iqbal's poetry we find a synthesis of classicism and romanticism along with his healthy type of mysticism which serves to bring up man's courage to face life realistically. The versatility of Iqbal's art is tremendous, but all his compositions bear the impress of these characteristics in unmistakable degree.

Iqbal started his poetical career by writing lyrical poetry in the form of *Ghazals*, and today his lyric poetry is poetry in its highest, intensest and purest form, as in it the poet sings of emotions which constitute the very life of love, joy, hope, devotion and fear. Owing to the elementary human emotions with which it deals, the appeal of lyric poetry is universal. The magical cadence and musical ecstacy of of Iqbal's lyrics have made them universally popular, and they are today sung wherever Urdu and Persian languages are spoken and understood Iqbal turns our simple experiences of life into passionate experiences and communicates these in such vivid and moving imagery that it cannot fail to strike a sympathetic response. In his songs even the abstruse notions of philosophy and religion are set free from their academic isolation and become a part of the common life of man This could be accomplished only by a great artist.

By formulating a life of ceaseless striving and discountenancing all views of life which advocated renunciation and self annihilation Iqbal has actually widened the scope of lyric poetry so far as Urdu and Persian language are concerned. If man is not to don ascetic's sack-cloth but is to live a life full of activity, there will be many more occasions for the play of his emotions—joy over success, grief over

disappointments, exaltation in effort. Life according to Iqbal is nothing but a progressive succession of fresh ends, purposes and values. This in itself ensures an unending succession of those thrills of souls, those rapturous glows of feeling which provide the very substance which makes the finest lyrical poetry. In order to illustrate this we have only to quote from two of his well-known ghazals :

For once O awaited Reality, reveal thyself in a form material ;

For a thousand prostrations are quivering eagerly in my submissive brow ;

Know the pleasure of tumult, thou art a tune in concert with the ear :

What is that melody which is concealed in the chords of the organ ;

Ever as I laid down my head in prostration a cry arose from the ground ;

Thy heart is enamoured of the Idol, what shalt thou gain by prayer.

Bang-i-Dara p. 320.

In the second lyric he says :

Not inclined to worship the apparent, I broke the Idol-House;

I am that rushing torrent which sweeps aside all obstacles ;

About my being or not being, Intellect had doubts;

Love revealed the secret that I am.

In a temple I offer homage, in the sanctuary I offer prayers.

I carry the sacred thread round my shoulders and a rosary in my hand

Payam-i-Mashriq p. 179

There are two characteristics of Iqbal's lyrics which we must mention. The first is his healthy mysticism which enabled him to portray healthy sentiments The other is his conception of Love and Beauty. While Iqbal has sung of all human emotions in his poetry the theme of Love is paramount. Great emphasis is laid on the part Love plays in the development of human personality and character, and the term is used by him in a very wide sense. Iqbal's ideas about the relationship of Beauty and Love underwent many changes which are reflected in his poetry. In the first and second period of his thought Beauty created Love, but in the final period Love or Ego-energy becomes the creator of Beauty.

No survey of Iqbal's poetry can be complete without a reference to his long poems which have been described by various critics as epic, metaphysical and philosophic poetry. There are critics who maintain that a long poem is really a contradiction in terms, because according to them poetry is essentially the language of excitement, and as excitement is always of brief duration, there can be no such thing as a long poem. While the force of this argument cannot be totally denied it must be said that this critictsm of long poem is to a certain extent based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of poetry. While the universal appeal of short poems, mostly lyrical, cannot be denied it must be admitted that long poems, by giving the poets an opportunity for sustained effort provide a truer test of his art. Even the greatest poets find it difficult to keep up the glow of thought for any length of time, and for this reason even some of the best long poems of the world contain dull passages, and it is only the superb artists who are capable of keeping out dullness when excitement is at a low ebb. While it will be wrong to suggest that the excellence of a poem depends upon its length, it can be safely said that a long poem can be successfully composed only by a great poet. Iqbal has written a number of long poems, and amongst the most important of these may be mentioned.

ASRAR-I-KHUDI

RUMUZ-I-BEKHUDI

GULSHAN-I-RAZ JADID

JAVID NAMAH

The first two poems are metaphysical, and the third is philosophical, while *Javid Namah* is an epic poem. Some students of Iqbal have classified *Asrar* and *Rumuz* also as philosophical poems. There is no harm in treating these poems as philosophical but we have to bear in mind the strong prejudice against all poetry which is supposed to be philosophical, although this prejudice is based partly on a misunderstanding. The line of division between lyric and philosophic poetry is after all a thin one, because a philosophic poem exhibits the poet's intensity of passion just like a lyric but perhaps not in the same degree. As regards philosophy itself no poet can really compose a great poem unless he has a background of ideas and the highest moral perception. In the hands of a poet the truths of life acquire a higher potency and value.

Asrar-i-Khudi was first published in 1915. It described fundamental principles affecting the development of human personality. This poem attracted world-wide attention owing to its translation in English by Professor R.A. Nicholson. In his introduction Professor Nicholson remarked : "The artistic quality of the poem is remarkable when we consider that its language is not the author's own. I have done my best to preserve as much of this as a literal translation would allow. Many passages of the original are poetry of the kind, that once read, is not easily forgotten."

Hailing the advent of a perfectly developed personality Iqbal says :

> Appear, O rider of Destiny;
> Appear, O light of the dark realm of change;
> Silence the noise of the nations;
> Imparadise our ears with thy music!
> Arise and tune the harp of brotherhood;
> Bring once more days of peace to the world;
> Give a message of peace to them that seek battle;
> Mankind are the field and thou the harvest;
> Thou art the goal of life's caravan.

(Translation by R.A. Nicholson)

In *Rumuz* Iqbal has described the basic principle on which the organization of ideal human society should be based. This has been translated in English by Professor A.J. Arberry.

Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid deals with abstruse mystical problems; the poet sets himself nine questions and then goes on to give replies to them. In spite of the philosophical character of the poem poetical fluency is remarkable.

But Iqbal's *magnum opus is Javid Namah.* In this poem the poet accompanied by Rumi, the great Persian poet, who is to him what Virgil is to Dante, visits the various planets and meets historical personalities who in their dialogues illustrate eternal truths. The poet first visits the Moon. Here Rumi introduces him to Hindu sage known as Jehan Dost. Rumi tells Jehan Dost that the way to progress for mankind lies through the synthesis of Eastern and Western culture. East has been concentrating on the spiritual and neglecting the material, while West has been concentrating on the material and neglecting the

spiritual. The East saw God but failed to see the world of matter. The West got embroiled in the world and neglected God. Later on the poet visits Mercury. Here he meets Jamaluddin Afghani and Saeed Halim Pasha, the two great personalities of Moslem Asia in the nineteenth century. Saeed Halim Pasha points out that the salvation of mankind can be achieved only through the synthesis of Eastern and Western culture, or as Iqbal is fond of putting it, by wedding Reason to Love. In the West, Intellect is the source of life. In the East, Love is the basis of life. Through Love Intellect can grasp Reality. And Intellect imparts stability to the work of love. Arise and lay the foundations of a new world by wedding Intellect to Love.

Jamaluddin Afghani exhorts the poet to tell the Russians that without faith and religion all their progress will come to naught. From Mercury the poet is transported to Venus and from Venus to Mars and thence to Jupiter. From Jupiter he goes to Saturn where he meets those mean souls who were guilty of treachery. From Saturn he reaches the trans-Heaven region where the first person he meets is Nietzsche, the German philosopher. Later on he meets Ghani, the poet of Kashmir, who refers to the sale of Kashmir by the British in the following terms :

O breeze : if you pass by Geneva,
Convey this message of ours to the League of Nations ;
They sold peasants, crops, rivers, and gardens ;
In short sold a whole nation and that too so cheap!

It is not possible to attempt a critical analysis of *Javid Namah* here, but some characteristics of this '*Book of Eternity*' as the poem is called, deserve mention. The most noticeable feature is the marvellous variety of effect produced by the introduction of lyrical interludes. These lyrical interludes serve to heighten the effect of variety by providing changes in rhythm and style at intervals. The second characteristic is the complete absence of any conscious and laboured effort on the part of the poet. Again and again the highest truths are uttered in language so rational and inevitable that it cannot fail to leave us completely charmed. The third characteristic is that the language used by every character reflects his or her personality. The very sound of the words suggests the characteristics of the persons talking. Another remarkable feature of the poem is the great sympathy and regard with which the poet treats his characters irrespective of their poetical and religious views.

Iqbal spent his childhood in Sialkot, a town along the foothills of the outer Himalayas. Amongst these beatuiful surroundings he developed early a love of Nature which inspired some noble poetry. In one of the poems written early in his career Iqbal describes a natural scene as below :

Arrayed along both sides are verdant trees,
The clear water of the river reflecting the scene.
So enchanting is the scene of the hilly country
That water rises in ripples to view it !
Fower-laden boughs stoop towards water
Like a damsel seeing herself in a mirror ;
While dew falls on flowers to perform ablution,
Tears should suffice for my ablution and wail for my prayer.

Bang-i-Dara P. 35-36

With his incisive humour and penetrating wit Iqbal delighted in writing satires which are characterised by smoothness of verse, lucidity of style, and urbanity of manner. For instance referring to unemployment and falling birthrate in many Western countries he says :

One might ask the sage from Europe,
Whose genius even Hind and Hellas admire ;
Is this the goal of social evolution
Unemployment amongst men and sterility' mongst women ?

Zarb-i-Kalim, P. 90

Whereas Dryden in his satires makes his victims look ludicrous by associating them with heroes of epic grandeur, and Pope reduces them to the level of worthless vermin, Iqbal, like Byron, simply depicts them as they are.

Iqbal has left us some great elegies, the most notable being those written on the deaths of his mother and his great friend Sir Ross Masood, a leading educationist of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. The characteristics of these elegies are :

(i) The originality ofd esign ;
(ii) The artistic arrangement and development of thought ;
(iii) Uniformity of diction ;
(iv) The harmony and dignity of verse.

Owing to their artistic beauty, charm and appeal Iqbal's elegies will be classed with the best elegiac poetry of the world. But apart from craftsmanship there is something nobler and greater in these elegies—there is spiritual courage and faith which conquers doubts and darkness. They serve to bring up a man's courage to face great personal disasters with fortitude and faith. It is this quality which imparts to them that universal appeal which is the characteristic of all great poetry.

This brief survey of Iqbal's poetry will show that all those who turn to it will find in it that wealth of thought and beauty of art not often met even in the greatest poets of the world. After reading Iqbal's poetry one is irresistibly reminded of Gabrielle D' Annumzio's remarks: "Poetry is everything ; it can define the indefinable, it can embrace the illimitable ; it can speak the ineffable, it can penetrate the abyss, it can measure eternity. " Iqbal had himself said of his poetry:

No one had told the secret which I tell.
Or threaded a pearl of thought like mine.
Come if thou wouldst know the secret of everlasting life ;
Come if thou wouldst win both earth and heaven.

It has already been remarked that the genius of Iqbal was so versatile that it is not possible to deal with it in a brief sketch. We have so far described only the salient features of his work as a thinker and literary artist, but the picture will be incomplete without a reference to the role he played in politics especially as the architect of Pakistan. To understand this role we have to recapitulate briefly the history of Islam's contact with the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. While the first Muslim contacts with the Sub-continent through Arab sailors and merchants started earlier, the first Muslim invasion of the Sub-continent took place in 712 under the leadership of a young intrepid general Muhammad-bin-Qasim. This first invasion was followed by invasions from the north, and Muslim power was finally established in Delhi. From 1192 to 1526 several Turkish or Afghan dynasties ruled in Delhi. They were succeeded by the Moghuls in 1526 whose rule lasted till 1707. Aurangzeb was the last of the Great Moghuls and his death was followed not only by the disintegration of the Moghul Empire but by a decline in the influence and power of the Muslims on the Sub-continent. As a part of the Hindu resurgent movement the Marathas appeared in Central and Western India ; Delhi was sacked by the Afghan Nadir Shah, and the strength of the British, French and

Dutch settlements developed. A number of comparatively small Muslim states also grew about this time, which only tended to weaken the central power. But as soon as the British East India Company had disposed of its European rivals it began to absorb both Hindu and Muslim states, so much so that after the Mutiny in 1857 Hyderabad was the only big Muslim State in existence. The political and economic downfall of the Muslims that started soon after Aurangzeb's death reached its culmination in the nineteenth century. English replaced Persian as the official language in 1833, and as a conequence Muslims lost their places in the various services like the police, courts of law, magistracy and revenue offices. Thus after six hundred years of power and sovereignty Islam found itself on the Sub-continent reduced to an intolerable position. In 1907 the British Government introduced reforms known as Morley-Minto reforms giving Muslims the right of separate electorate which meant that the Muslims could elect their own representatives to legislative bodies. These reforms were followed by Montague Chlemsford reforms in 1917. These introduced dyarchy in all provinces of India and ministries were formed to run certain subjects which were known as 'Transferred'. The treatment accorded to the Muslims in most of the Provinces was neither equitable nor fair. This left them anxious about their future. Communal riots between the Muslims and the Hindus became the order of the day. As the Simon Commission appointed by the British Government in 1928 noted: "So long as authority was finally established in British hands self-government was not thought of. Hindu-Muslim rivalry was confined within a narrow field.... The coming of the reforms and the anticipation of what may follow has given new point to Hindu-Muslim competition. The one community nationality lays claims to the rights of a majority, and relies upon its greater qualifications of better education and greater wealth; the other is all the more determined on these accounts to secure effective protection for its members and does not forget that it represents the previous conquerers of the country." (Simon Report Vol. I, P. 29)

Political parties in the Sub-continent met and tried to find a solution out of the imbroglio, but without success. It was in this atmosphere that Iqbal was called upon to preside at the Annual Session of the Muslim League held in Allahabad in 1930. In his Presidential Address Iqbal said:

> "I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-

Government within the British Empire or without the Biritsh Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-Western Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India ... I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam."

On 28th May 1931 Iqbal wrote to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah:

"But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities."

In 1937 he wrote again:

"A separate federation of Muslim provinces reformed on lines I have suggested above is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are."

The result of all this bold expression of his views in private, and on public platform, was that the great organisation of the Muslims of India—the Muslim League—passed, on 24th March, 1940, the resolution popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution". And eventually on 14th August, 1947 there came into existence a new State, PAKISTAN, with a population of 76 millions. There is no other instance in the history of mankind of a poet and a philosopher working such a miracle in shaping the destiny of his people. To people bewildered and depressed, threatened with political strangulation and economic emasculation, Iqbal came to show the light.

VI

IQBAL AND WESTERN THOUGHT

As Iqbal's philosophy deals with matters concerning the very destiny of mankind, other thinkers in East and West have also given their thoughts to the various problems considered by him. Iqbal was a profound student of Eastern and Western philosophy, and it will be idle to deny that the deliberations of the great thinkers of past did not influence him. While it is not easy to trace the source of Iqbal 's inspiration in the various spheres of his thought it is comparatively easy to trace the affinity between the main trends of his thought and the work of other prominent figures in the history of human thought. To trace the affinities of Iqbal's thought with that of other great thinkers of the world would be tantamount to tracing the history of human thought from the earliest times to the present day, and while it would be a fascinating task it cannot be attempted here. So we will only try to point out the affinities between the thought of Iqbal and the work of those prominent thinkers of the West who are regarded as landmarks in the history of human thought.

Modern European thought has been greatly influenced by Greek thought, and the beginning of Western thought must be traced to the galaxy of brilliant Greek thinkers. From the seventh century B. C. some of the keenest minds amongst the Greeks were engaged in probing beyond the surface of things into the ultimate realities of the universe and man's place in it. In the fourth century B. C. when it was being realised that decay was at work more comprehensive insights into fundamental problems were demanded. And these were provided by the extraordinary genius of Plato and Aristotle. These two great thinkers drawing upon the work of their predecessors in the realm of thought, bequeathed to mankind the distillation of some of the greatest triumphs of the Hellenic mind. Noticing signs of decay in the Western culture Iqbal made an attempt to unleash new creative forces by destroying the influences generated by Hellenic canons of thinking. In this effort he criticised vehemently some of the ideas of Plato especially his Metaphysics. But Iqbal agrees with Plato in his theory of art. Professor Sharif has described Iqbal as "vitalist Plato". Similarly while there are important points of difference between Iqbal and Aristotle they both postulated a

changing dynamic universe as opposed to Plato's static view. According to both there is a rational plan, design, and purpose in the universe and nothing is aimless or useless. Even Iqbal's Perfect Man and Aristotle's Ideal Man show many points of resemblance.

Leaving Greek thought we come to modern European thinkers. Modern European thought begins with Bacon who learned the inductive method from the Arabs. Descartes, Spinoza, and other great thinkers who followed enriched his thought by developing deductive method. Descartes established the independence of matter. Berkley contended that matter was only a form of mind. Hume gave a phenomenalistic interpretation to mind. Then came Kant. Iqbal describes Kant as the greatest gift of God to his nation. Kant demonstrated the futility of intellectual effort when faced with the ultimate problems of life and thus proved the philosophical necessity of faith. Iqbal also started with faith, but he did not have to reason this out. The ceaseless activity of the Ego can only be explained in terms of faith in the ultimate result of that activity. Whereas Kant postulates the moral law as a sort of external command, for Iqbal moral law arises out of the inner necessity of the Ego's life. Thus while both Kant and Iqbal believe in faith and moral law they recognise the necessity of these fundamental factors in different ways and for different reasons. For Iqbal personality provides the measure of all things. There is another significant difference between the standpoints of Iqbal and Kant which deserves mention here. For Iqbal freedom and immortality are rewards for ceaseless striving and come only to those egos who never relax their efforts. Kant brings in freedom and immortality in order to be able to think that ours is a just universe, and there is actually no discord between actions and their ultimate results.

After Kant we find some resemblance between Iqbal and Fichte. Fichte's system of philosophy arose out of his criticism of Kant's analysis of our process of knowing. As we know Kant looked upon this as a construction of the mind's activity in relation to an element which is quite alien to it and which he called the 'thing-in-itself'. Fichte rejects this alien element and is thus left with the knowing mind alone, the self. Thus according to Fichte there must be a self that knows, in other words, the ego posits itself. But if ego is to know, it follows that there must be something to be known, thus the ego posits the non-ego. Hence there is striking resemblance between the thought of Iqbal and Fichte so far as the conception of ego is concerned,

but there is nothing in Fichte corresponding to the magnificent structure of the whole philosophy of life that Iqbal conceived on the basis of this conception of Ego.

The next great thinker whose thought bears a resemblance to Iqbal's philosophy is Nietzsche. In fact when Iqbal's exposition of his philosophy of Ego, along with the description of his Perfect man, appeared for the first time many scholars described it as a presentation of Nietzsche's ideas in Oriental garb. Before we try to carry out a comparative study of the thought of these two thinkers, it will be better to describe briefly Nietzsche's philosophy. Professor A.H.J. Knight says: "Dionysius, Recurrence, Superman, these ideas and those dependent upon them, make up the most important part of Nietzsche's constructive philosophy, or if one profess it, of his religion." Nietzsche describes the Dionysian *Weltanschaung* as below: "The affirmative answer to life even in its strongest and hardest problems, the will to life, rejoicing, the sacrifice of its highest type, as its own inexhaustible nature that I call Dionysian, that I understand as a bridge to the psychology of tragic poet. Not in order to rid oneself of pity and fear, not in order to purge oneself of a dangerous emotion through an unrestrained release. Aristotle misunderstood it in this sense, but actually to be far beyond pity and fear, the eternal joy of Becoming—that joy which also includes the joy of Destroying."

So far as the affirmative answer to life is concerned, Iqbal agrees with Nietzsche that in spite of all the evil one finds in life, one has to make the best of it. The longing for change and growth, so characteristic of Dionysian *Weltanschaung*, is also fully endorsed by Iqbal. But then there are so many features of Dionysian *Weltanschaung* of which Iqbal disapproves strongly. In fact Iqbal's system is actually not Dionysian at all, but a synthesis of Dionysian and Appoline *Weltanschaungs*. Most people amongst whom there are many who have never studied Nietzsche know that he talked of Superman. When a few years later Iqbal mentioned Perfect Man many thought that they were the same. Actually a detailed analysis shows that the two are quite dissimilar. There are certainly some characteristics of Nietzsche's Superman especially his love of power, of which Iqbal approves, but owing to his atheistic outlook Nietzsche failed to comprehend that it is only by affirming the spiritual basis of life that man can realise the highest ideal of perfection. As Iqbal says: "Nietzsche's Superman is a biological product. The Islamic Perfect Man is the product of moral

and spiritual forces." This difference is so fundamental and deep that Nietzsche's Superman and Iqbal's Perfect Man become quite different beings.

As regards the idea Eternal Recurrence Iqbal has condemned it in no uncertain terms. He says: "Such a doctrine far from keeping up the human organism for the fight of life tends to destory its action-tendencies and relieves the tension of tho Ego."

Thus it will be seen that in spite of affinity between certain aspects of their thoughts, there is fundamentally no coincidence between the basic ideas of Nietzsche and Iqbal. They represent entirely different views of life which are poles apart. Nietzsche believes in division of humanity into water-tight compartments resembling Manu's caste-system; Iqbal wants to abolish all such distinctions.

Iqbal's ideas on theism show affinity with those of the English philosopher James Ward. Iqbal is in complete agreement with the theistic monodism of Ward, and he further maintains that it is compatible with the spirit of the Quran.

After Ward the closest parallel with Iqbal in Western thought is Henri Bergson. Bergson starts with the fact that change is the fundamental reality of the Universe. Reality reveals itself in the unity of our consciousness which is known to us intuitionally and which exists in pure time of "*la dure*". Reality thus known is in the nature of a creative impulse, the "Elan Vital", which is a creative change. Iqbal also believes in the reality of change but does not agree with Bergson's creative impulse. Indeed it seems absurd to think of human ego under Bergson's system. Both Iqbal and Bergson believe in the reality of 'pure time' as distinguished from serial time, but as Iqbal points out: "I venture to think that the error of Bergson consists in regarding time as prior to self, of which alone pure duration is predictable." There are several differences between the thought of Iqbal and Bergson, but the most significant is that Iqbal's *ishq* is a more vital assimilative process than Bergson's intuition.

Iqbal himself once pointed out in a letter to Professor Nicholson, of Cambridge, the resemblance which the views of the British philosopher Samuel Alexander bear to his thought. The philosophy of Alexander is systematically developed in his book *Space, Time & Deity*.

Iqbal was always interested in the nature of Time. He disagrees with Newton's objective view of time. He also criticises Nietzsche's

views of time and space which were expressed mainly in connection with his doctrine of Eternal Recurrence. Iqbal is in general agreement with the Theory of Relativity, but he raises an objection to the Theory regarding Time as a fourth dimension of Space. According to Iqbal this would mean that the future is as indubitably fixed as the past, and Time would cease to be a free creative movement. Actually the Theory of Relativity does not regard Time as a fourth dimension of Space, but of Space-Time continuum. Iqbal proceeds to analyse further aspects of Time which the Theory of Relativity does not consider at all.

To sum up Iqbal's thought shows points of affinity with the thought of several European thinkers, notably Fichte, Nietzsche, Bergson, Ward, and Einstein. But as remarked by Sir Thomas Arnold: "Sir Mohammad Iqbal, in spite of his learning and his wide reading is no mere echo of other man's ideas, but is distinctly an original thinker." As in the case of Plato many trends of Iqbal's thought can be found in the ideas of other thinkers, but his system of philosophy as a whole is entirely his own.

Lest the above attempt to trace the affinities between the thought of Iqbal and that of Western thinkers should lead the readers to wrong conclusions regarding the source of Iqbal's thought we would like to draw attention to the following remarks by him in one of his letters :

> "I claim that the philosophy of the *ASRAR* is a direct development out of the experience and speculation of old Muslim Sufis and thinkers, Even Bergson's idea of time is not quite foreign to our Sufis".

ASRAR is the Persian poem in which Iqbal propounded his philosophy of Ego.

VII

DEVELOPMENT OF IQBAL'S GENIUS

Iqbal once wrote to a friend: "I shall like to meet the Creator and call upon Him to give me a rational explanation of my mind, which I am sure will not be an easy task for Him to do." [1] This remark throws a revealing light on the difficulties which face us when we try to understand the true significance of Iqbal's genius and to study its development, and yet it must be admitted that the task is of absorbing interest.

As we know Iqbal began writing verses while still a student in Sialkot [2]. The earliest *Ghazal* by him we have ,was written in 1893 [3] and the last poem he wrote was a few days before his death in 1938. [4] Thus the creativeness of his artistic genius was active for over a period of early half a century. And one naturally expects his art to develop and to display signs of growth during this long period. But the surprising fact is that after the formative period, which expired before the end of the century, his poetic genius actually displays no great changes. Iqbal started writing *Ghazal* in the classical style, and he sent his early compositions for correction to Dagh (1831-1905)—an acknowledged master of Urdu poetry. Soon after his move to Lahore his studies of the English romantic poets, especially Wordsworth, and the prevailing trends amongst the Urdu poets, along with his own inclinations attracted him to romanticism. But he never discarded the traditions of the old masters. The result was that about the beginning of the century, his art attained a synthesis of classicism and romanticism found only in great masters.

From the very beginning Iqbal's art was subjective, and his poetry was based on self-expression. In fact it can be said that in his poetry he sang mostly of his personal experiences. And he continued to be an expressionist all his life. He says:

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1. *Iqbal's Letters to Atiya Begum*, p. 47.
2. Abdul Majid Salik : *Zikr-i-Iqbal*, p. 15.
3. *Baqiat-i-Iqbal*, p. 379
4. Syed Nazeer Niyazi in 'Urdu', Iqbal Number, p. 1070.

آیا کہاں سے نالۂ نے میں سرور مے
اصل اس کی نے نواز کا دل ہے کہ چوب نے ؟

Zarb-i-Kalim, P. 113

From where does the music of flute get the enchantment ?
Its source is the heart of the flute-player and not the wood of the flute.

In another poem he says :

تو قدر خویش ندانی بہا ز تو گیرد
وگرنہ لعل در خشندہ پارۂ سنگ است

Payam-i-Mashriq, p. 179.

You do not realise your worth: it gains its value from you.
Otherwise the glittering ruby is but a piece of stone.

While this was going on Iqbal's wide studies and his travels convinced him that the ills of mankind needed attention from all those who could help in setting things right. In the West there were imperialism, colonialism, racialism, rationalism and other forces which imperilled the dignity of man, and in the East there was listlessness and a feeling of other-worldliness which only led to inaction. A result of all this was that Iqbal began realising the need of functionalism, and he used his great gift as a poet to help mankind. He proclaimed:

بے معجزہ دنیا میں ابھرتی نہیں قومیں
جو ضرب کلیمی نہیں رکھتا وہ ہنر کیا!

Zarb-i-Kalim, P. 117.

Without a miracle nations cannot rise:
What is in art that lacks the power of Moses' rod.

Now on the one hand Iqbal makes art subservient to morality and on the other hand he regards it as self-experssion of the artist. Iqbal accepts expressionism as a basis and brings functionalism within the sphere of expressionism. The result is a complete accord in his art, the compositions exhibit an artistic unity which is found only in the great poets of the world. This was achievəd in his poem *Asrar-i-Khudi*, which was published in 1915. As we know, the object of the poem is to elucidate Iqbal's philosophy of Ego, but from the artistic point of view also the poem has been judged by the critics to a masterpeice, for

example Professor Nicholson says: "The artistic quality of the poems is remarkable——. Many passages of the original are poetry of the kind that once read is not easily forgotten, for example, the description of the Ideal Man as a deliverer for whom the world is waiting, and the noble invocation which brings the book to an end". [1] *Asrar-i-Khudi* was followed by *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* published in 1918. And this was followed by great a poem in Urdu, like *Khizr-i-Rah* (1922) and *Tulu-i-Islam* (1923) which show a complete synthesis of all basic tendencies of Iqbal's art. But the great event in Iqbal's poetic career was the publication of *Payam-i-Mashriq* in 1923. The book is in response to Goethe's *Divan* and represents the acme of Iqbal's art.

Reference must be made here to Iqbal's apocalyptic poetry. Iqbal showed this tendency soon after his return from England. It seems that this world was so overwhelmed with evil that the poet had to visit the other world to discover a remedy for it all. The first remarkable apocalyptic poem was *Shikwa*, followed by *Sair-i-Jalak*, *Jawab-i-Shikwa* and *Khizr-i-Rah*. But the *magnum opus* was *Javid Namah* published in 1932. *Javid Namah*, along with Dante's *Divine Comedy*, is the most remarkable poem in the apocalyptic literature of the world. The idea of apocalyptic literature is nothing new, and we have numerous examples of this in the East and the West. Dante's conception of his great poem also owed much to Western and Eastern sources. We have only to mention the *Dream of Scipio* and the *Sixth Book of the Aeneid*, Ibni Arabi's *Futuhat-i-Makkia*, Alghazali's *Durratul Fakhira*, and *Alghufran*. Similarly there is nothing original in the idea so far as Iqbal's apocalyptic poems are concerned. But his wonderful imagery, his great vision, the ardour of his lyrical interludes impart, to *Javid Namah* a grandeur and sublimity not noticed elsewhere. It seems that a great vision was needed in which the existence of evil in the world could be portrayed in colours sufficiently vivid to make an impression on all concerned, a vision in which the divine intention to intervene in the restoration of the eternal law and the re-establishment of the world upon its true course could be proclaimed in unmistakable terms.

We have reffered to *Javid Namah* from the point of view of apocalyptic literature, but it must not be forgotten that the poem, like Dante's

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1. R. A. Nischolson : *The Secrets of the Self*, P. XXI. Published by Shaikh Mohammad Ashraf, 1943.

Divine Comedy, is an allegory. Both Dante and Iqbal have, through the allegory of a vision, attempted to depict the destiny of the human soul. The symbolism adopted by both is natural, that is to say it is a symbolism in which they have adopted historical personalities instead of abstract personalities. Unfortunately the allegorical aspect of *Javid Namah* has not received much attention from students.

While tracing the development of Iqbal's poetry it is helpful to note his favourite poets and his favourite themes. It must be mentioned that Iqbal's artistic personality was so strong that there is no question of his accepting any poet's influence, but there is unconscious affinity between him and some other poets, and tracing these affinities is highly instructive as well as interesting. From the very beginning Iqbal showed profound admiration for Bedil and Ghalib amongst the Oriental poets and this continued throughout his life. Amongst the Western poets Iqbal was attracted by Wordsworth, and in the collection of books presented, by his trustees, to the Islamia College, Lahore, there is a beautful edition of Wordsworth's poetry. As mentioned above Iqbal wrote his *Payam-i-Mashriq* in response to Goethe's *Divan.* In lines of rare beauty and great charm Iqbal again and again expresses his admiration for Goethe. Now it will be interesting to find out as to when Iqbal was attracted by Goethe. In a poem on Ghalib written in 1903, Iqbal wrote:

گلشن ویمر میں تیرا هم نوا خوابیده هے

Your fellow bard is sleeping in the garden of Wiemer,

(*Bang-i-Dar*, P. 10)

During his stay in Europe (1905-1908) Iqbal used to discuss Goethe's *Jaust* Part II which he had evidently studied before leaving for England. Thus it seems that Iqbal first read Goethe during the period 1900-1905 evidently in translation. Later on when he had learnt German he must have read Goethe in original. And it seems that with time and study his admiration of Goethe grew in intensity.

As regards Iqbal's favourite themes these are : *Dew*; *Glow-Worm*, *Loneliness*, *Time*, problem of good and evil with special emphasis on the role of Satan, and above all his invocations to God. Throughout his long poetic career headverts to these subjects again and again. But it is in his Prayers that Iqbal finds a fitting outlet for his poetic genius. Iqbal wrote his first prayer, 1902, in a small poem—*A Child's Praye*:

زندگی ہو مری پروانے کی صورت یا رب !
علم کی شمع سے ہو مجھکو محبت یا رب !
مرے اللہ ! برائی سے بچانا مجھ کو
نیک جو راہ ہو اس رہ پہ چلانا مجھ کو

Bang-e-Dara p. 20.

May my life be modelled on that of a glow-worm;

I may love the candle of learning;

My Allah save me from all that is evil;

Help me to walk on the path of rectitude.

یا رب دل مسلم کو وہ زندہ تمنا دے
جو قلب کو گرما دے، جو روح کو تڑپا دے
اس دور کی ظلمت میں ہر قلب پریشاں کو
وہ داغ محبت دے جو چاند کو شرما دے
بے لوث محبت ہو، بیباک صداقت ہو
سینوں میں اجالا کر، دل صورت مینا دے

Bang-e-Dara p. 237.

O God endow the Muslim's spirit with that living desire,

Which will impart warmth to the heart and restlessness to the spirit.

In this age of darkness to every vexed heart.

Give that mark of love which will put to shame the Moon.

Give Love that is unselfish and truth that spurus fear.

Give light to breasts and hearts generous like goblets.

Every word in the poem is soul-warming. In 1914 he wrote the famous invocation which forms epilogue to the *Asrar-i-Khudī* (p. 86). in which he says:

اے چو جاں اندر وجود عالمی	جان ما باشی و از ما می رمی
باز تسکین دل ناشاد شو	باز اندر سینہ ھا آباد شو
شمع را تنہا تپیدن سہل نیست	آہ یک پروانہ من اھل نیست
گرچہ تو در ذات خود یکتاستی	عالمے از بہر خویش آراستی

Thou art as the soul in the body of the univese,

Thou art our soul yet thou art ever fleeing from us,

Once more bring comfort to our sad hearts.

Once more dwell in our breasts ;

Although in thine essence thou art single,
Thou hast evolved for Thyself a whole world.
It is not easy for the candle to throb alone.
Ah, is there no moth worthy of me ?

This was followed by the famous *Munajat* in *Javid Namah* written in 1931 or so:

روئے تو ایمان من قرآن من   جلوہ داری دریغ از جان من ؟
از زیان صد شعاع آفتاب   کم نمی گردد متاع آفتاب
آنیم من جاودانی کن مرا   از زمینی آسمانی کن مرا

Thy face is my faith's core, my holy book ;
Pray keep not back from me Thy radiance.
Even by shedding hundred rays of light,
The Sun does not suffer any loss in its glitter.
I am transitory, make me everlasting ;
I belong to this world, make me celestial.

In 1932 he wrote his famous prayer in the Cordova Mosque, every word of which is aglow with beatitude:

ہے یہی میری نماز ہے یہی میرا وضو
میری نواؤں میں ہے میرے جگر کا لہو !
میرا نشیمن نہیں درگہ میر و وزیر !
میرا نشیمن بھی تو ، شاخ نشیمن بھی تو !
تیری خدائی سے ہے میرے جنوں کو گلہ
اپنے لئے لا مکاں ، میرے لئے چار سو !
فلسفہ و شعر کی اور حقیقت ہے کیا ،
حرف تمنا جسے کہہ نہ سکیں رو برو !

Bal-i-Jibril 'P. 123.

My songs constitute my prayers and my ablutions;
They contain my very life-blood.
I do not repose in the mansions of the rulers and the ministers;
My shelter is Thou and the twig supporting the shelter is also Thou.
My madness has a complaint against Thy Godhood ;
While Thou hast the Spaceless, I am bound by four dimensions.
What is philosophy and what is poetry after all ?
Words of yearning which cannot be uttered in Thy presence;

The lines breathe sincerity and spontaniety. Iqbal wrote a friend that when he raised his hands for prayers in the Mosque at Cordova it came out in the form of this poem.[1] There are other invocations scattered in several of the books, but these five are the most remarkable. The prayer in the mosque of Cordova and the *Munajat* of the *Javid Namah* can be classed as the summit of man's spiritual experience, They both describe visions of God in verses which portray human soul's yearning for the Infinite. All these prayers represnt a cross-section of Iqbal's poetic art, an their dstudy can throw considerable light not only on the development of Iqbal's artistic genius but also on his spiritual growth, for it can be said that the two mingle miraculously in these poems. While they display freedom from any suggestion of sameness or monotony, they are suffused with an immense sense of tranquil beatitude. Perhaps when describing Iqbal's prayers a mention must also be made of the *Munajat* in the *Musafir* and the *dua* in the *Zabur-i-Ajam* also.

As regards his favourite themes we will consider here only *Lonelness*. Iqbal has written a number of poems on *Lonelnuess* and in all these he complains, in pathetic strain, about the lack of a confidante. It is true that he once worte :

گئے دن کہ تنہا تھا میں انجمن میں   یہاں اب مرے رازداں اور بھی ھیں !

(*Bal-i-Jinril*, P. 90)

Those days are gone when I was alone;

Now there are others to share my secrets.

But this line is grossly misunderstood. It only means that after all he had found some people who could understand his message. But there were for him never any confidantes. Ther is no doubt that Iqbal continued to be a lonely man throughout his life. The beauty of his lines on *Loneliness* in *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 137, cannot be matched :—

شدم بحضرت یزداں گزشتم از مہ و مہر
که در جہان تو یک ذرّہ اشنایم نیست

جہاں تہی ز دل و مشت خاک من همه دل
چمن خوش است ولے در خور نوایم نیست

تبسمے بہ لب او رسید و هیچ نگفت

Past Moon and Sun I journeyed

To where God sits enshrined ;

"In all your world no atom
Is kin of mine," I cried ;
"Heartless that world, this handful
Of dust all heart, all pain ;
Enchantment fills your garden ;
But I sing there in vain."
There gathered on His lips a smile
He smiled and did not speak !

Human imagination boggles at the prospect of the heights to which Iqbal's artistic genius would had risen if like Rumi he could find companions like Shams-i-Tabriz, Salahuddin Zarkob or Hisamuddin Chalpi.

Love and beauty are the poet's stock-in-trade, and so it will be interesting to note the changes in Iqbal's conceptions of Love and Beauty. To start with Iqbal was a pantheist, and he expounded that Neoplatonic theory that it is Beauty stimulates all Love and desire. This period ends in 1908. At the close of this period Iqbal developed his philosophy of Self, and he became more of a heroic vitalist than a Neoplatonist. Now God is beauty, but He is also the Supreme Ego. As pointed out by that great scholar, Professor Sharif, Iqbal is about this time half-way house between Neoplatonism and heroic vitalsm in his theory of Aesthetics. Beauty is for him now the creator of Love but not its goal. This period lasts from 1908 to 1920. In the ensuing period, which lasted from 1920 to 1938, Love is everything; it becomes the Creator of Beauty, and Beauty is a quality of the Ego in action.[1] In poetry written after 1920 Love is the dominant note :—

من بندهٔ آزادم عشق است امام من
عشق است امام من عقل است غلام من

اے عالم رنگ و بو این صحبت ما تا چند
مرگ است دوام تو عشق است دوام من!

Zabur-i-Ajam, P.197.

I am a free man, Love is my leader.

Love is my leader and intellect is my slave.

O world of colour and smell, how long is this association ?

Thou art to perish, and I am to survive through Love.

3. Based on Profe sor M.M. Sharif's writings

As regards the development of Iqbal's thought we have his article in the *Indian Antiquary* to show that Iqbal was thinking of Superman as early as 1900[1]. Even his early poems breathed a spirit of stress and struggle, and this belief in the importance of struggle was transformed into a faith during his stay in the West. As already pointed out his feelings towards nationalsm crystallised into a definite condemnation after his stay in the West. So much is clear. But we have no concusive evidence to show as to when he formulated his philosophy of the Ego. The letter written by MacTaggart in 1920 will throw some light on the subject: "I am writing to tell you with how much pleasure I have been reading your poems (*Secrets of the Self*). Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together you were much more of a pantheist and mystic. For my own part, I adhere to my own belief that selves are the ultimate reality, but as to their true content and their true good, my opinion is as it was, that is to be found in eternity and not in time, and in love rather than in action[2]:

It is obvious from the above that while Iqbal was as at Cambridge he agreed with MacTaggart, in many respects. MacTaggart, following Hegel, calls the Ultimate Reality as the Absolute; the Absolute is broken into finite egos on the principle of differetiation. So he maintains that the finite egos are eternal. and the Absolute is not an ego or self but a community. It is in any case clear that Iqbal still believed in patheistic Suflsm when he left Cambridge in 1907. His poem *Asrar.i-Khudi* was published in 1915. It was completed in 1914, although revisions went on till the book was sent to the press. It was actually written in 1913-14. The philosophy of ego is fully propounded in the *Asrar*. Thus Iqbal must have developed his philosophy of Ego between 1906 and 1913. But Iqbal was still a pantheist when his *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* was published in 1908. A reference to his philosophy is also contained in the poem, *Shama Aur Shair* which was published in 1912. Thus it seems that the years of conflict were aeally from 1909 to 1912.

Then there is the statement of Ali Bakhsh that on the day Iqbal resigned his Professorship in the Government College, Lahore he said, "Ali Baksh I have a message for my people, and it could not be conveyed if I remained in the service of the Government. I have

1. S. A. Vahid : *Iqbal, His Art and Thought,* P. 13.
2. Ibid, P. 14.

resigned the Government service, and I hope that I will be able to carry out my wish now." This happened in 1911.[1]. Is it possible that Iqbal had already got over the great mental conflict? Had he worked out his entire philosophy or had he as yet only caught a faint gleam of it ? We are today in possession of some interesting information which can be of great help in tracing the development of Iqbal's thouhght. Iqbal's poem *Asrar* which described his philosophy of ego, shows the influence of Nietzsche, Bergson and Rumi.[2] Nietzsche's works were translated in English between 1907 and 1911, and Iqbal who had only a working knowledge of German could now read Neitzche easily in these translations.[3] Bergson's works were translated in Engllsh between 1910 and 1915,[4] and Iqbal who did not know French, could now read Bergson. Thus it wlll be seen that Iqbal must have developed his philosophy of Ego in the years 1911-1912. And about that time he decided to describe it in the form of a poem. It will be interesting to find out as to when Iqbal discovered Rumi. Iqbal had read Rumi before leaving for England. He used to teach the *Mathnavi* to his friend, Swami Ram Tiratha, who in return taught Iqbal Sanskrit. In all probability Iqbal must have again gone throngh the *Mathnavi* when preparing his thesis for the Doctorate, but we find yet no signs of the devotion he displays for Rumi in the *Asrar*. Hence we are constrained to admit that Iqbal turned to Rumi only after discovering Nietzsche and Bergson and possibly Ward, because spiritual pluralism is common between Ward and Rumi, and led Iqbal to condemn the doctrine of *Wahdat-al-Wujud*. In fact Iqbal's philosophy of Self was itself a reaction to Pantheism. Now when Iqbal studied Rumi again he found in his philosophy the panacea for all ills from which mankind was suffering. Iqbal had given no indication of his attachment to Rumi till 1911 because in that year he wrote to Atiya Begum that he had started to write a poem on the lines of Hazrat Bu Ali Shah's *Mathnavi*.[5] Thus the momentous years were probably 1911 and 1912. It was in these years that Iqbal saw the light, and thought out his philosophy of Ego which he gave to the world in the form of a poem of transcendent beauty. Along with this philosophy Iqbal came to believe in Spiritual Pluralism.

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1 S.A. vahid : *Iqbal, His Art & Thought*, P. 14.
2. Beautifully described by Khalifa Abdul Hakim.
3. According to information kindly supplied by the Book League, London, in a letter written to the author.
4. Ibida.
5. Iqbal's letters to Atiya, P. 78-Aina-i-Adab, Lahore, 1969.

VIII

IQBAL AS LYRIC POET

Before dealing with the lyric poetry of Iqbal it will be helpful if we understand his conception of art. For Iqbal the true aim of all art is to make human life rich and beautiful. If art does not contribute to the fullness and exuberance of life and fails to provide guidance for humanity in the various problems that baffle it, according to Iqbal, that art is meaningless. He has no patience with people who talk of art for art's sake. According to him real art must impinge dynamically on human life, and while pleasing, it must provide guidance to human thought and energy. Iqbal says :

> There should be no opium eating in Art. The dogma of Art for the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power.

When Iqbal began his career, as a poet, Urdu poetry was generally regarded as an emotional luxury not to be taken seriously. But poets were beginning to charge poetry with high seriousness of purpose. With Iqbal the purposiveness of art was only a part of the teleological aspect of life in which he firmly believed. His passionate desire for a world-wide culture, his great faith in the destiny of man, his belief in the development of man climbing range after range of purpose to higher and yet higher peaks of perfection exercised a profound influence on his poetry. His poetic genius was so comprehensive and so fertile that he wrote all forms of poetry except the dramatic. And he even produced dymatic effect in some of his poems by various devices. He created a new conception of the lyric in Urdu and Persian poetry as an overflow of personal feeling. Lyrical poetry is poetry in its highest, intensest, and purest form, as in it the poet sings of emotions which constitute the very life, of love, fear, joy, anger, hope and devotion. Owing to the elementary human emotions with which it deals, the appeal of lyric poetry is universal. Other kinds of poetry may be more difficult to produce and may represent a combination of more niceties of poetic art, but no other poetry contains so much of the true poetic ore. In Urdu and Persian Poetry the lyric poetry is mostly represented by the '*Ghazal*' and there is no doubt that the appeal of '*Ghazal*' is irresistible.

The first poems to show Iqbal's genius were the lyrics he wrote when he was a student in Sialkot and Lahore. Many of his lyrics composed at this time are full of anacreontic conventions ; love motive is ambiguous ; it might be conventional but it might be genuine But even in this early stage Iqbal showed a complete mastery of artless lyric. And he kept this mastery and the taste for this kind of poem throughout his life. Some of his famous and bewitching lyrics were composed during this period.

کبھی اے حقیقت منتظر ! نظر آ لباس مجاز میں
کہ ھزاروں سجدے تڑپ رھے ھیں میری جبین نیاز میں
نہ کہیں جہاں میں اماں ملی ، جو اماں ملی تو کہاں ملی
مرے جرم خانہ خراب کو تیرے عفو بندہ نواز میں
جو میں سر بسجدہ ھوا کبھی تو زمیں سے آنے لگی صدا
ترا دل تو ھے صنم آشنا تجھے کیا ملے گا نماز میں

Bang-i-Dara, P. 320—2'

For once O awaited Reality reveal thyself in a form material,
For a thousand prostrations are quivering eagerly in my submissive brow.
My dark misdeeds found no refuge in the wide world,
The only refuge they found was in Thy benign forgiveness,
Ever as I laid down my head in prostration a cry arose from the ground,
Thy heart is enamoured of the Idol, what shalt thou gain by prayer.

The subtle sweetness of music, the depth and variety of melody, and the vivid spontaneity all go to make this poem an embodiment of lyrical grace and charm

This early period lyric production lasted till Iqbal's return from England. During his stay in Europe Iqbal wrote relatively few poems, but lyric poems still continued to attract his attention. However a great change came over Iqbal soon after his return. Whereas he had shown himself previously as a lyric genius of verve and power he now developed into a great poet in the wider and more difficult sense. In succeeding years his poetry marks a progressive discovery of his own range. A consequence was that lyric writing took second place to other kinds. And Iqbal turned to philosophic and metaphysical poetry

like *Asrar* and *Rumuz*. After finishing *Asrar* and *Rumuz* he turned to lyric again, this time in Persian. All these lyrics were published in the volume known as *Payam-i-Mashriq*. There is no more ambiguity of love motive, and there is a tendency to express thought, although the wells of emotion are as deep as ever. The following example will illustrate this :

آشنا هر خار را از قصهٔ ما ساختی
در بیابان جنون بردی و رسوا ساختی
جرم ما از دانهٔ ، تقصیر او از سجدهٔ
نے بآں بیچاره می سازی نه باما ساختی
طرح نو افگن که ما جدّت پسند افتاده ایم
این چه حیرت خانهٔ امروز و فردا ساختی!

Payam-i-Mashriq, P. 182-83

Thou hast informed every thorn of our story,
Thou hast dragged me in the desert of madness and exposed the whole affair;
Our sin consisted in eating the forbidden fruit,
His mistake was in refusing to bow,
Neither hast thou kept up with that hapless one nor with us.
Strike a new note for we chenish
What is in this mystery-house of today and tomorrow?

The spontaneity of imagination and mastery over the technique make the poem remarkable. After *Payam-i-Mashriq* came the lyrics which were published in *Zabur-i-Ajam*. His poetry now becomes a peculiarly subtle form of philosophic vision, in which the passion of life is interfused with the passion of knowing life. Although the vivacity and tumultuousness of early lyrics is missing the emotion is still profound, and poetic inspiration quite as compulsive and eruptive, though served by elaborate and developed art. When in the final period Iqbal took to Urdu again his lyric fervour found expression in compositions which were pnblished in *Bal-i-Jibril*. At this time Iqbal became a master of the philosophical lyric, his poems containing a statement of thought suffused with lyric emotion. A divine levity flourishes in the conjunction between Iqbal's philosophic culture, his humanity, and the facility of his poetic inspiration. It has been suggested by people who have not read Iqbal's poems that as he sang

of his philosophy of action and struggle in his poems they were bound to lack the real poetical fervour. Iqbal, no doubt, possessed a large background of thought to draw upon and had a powerful intellect which sought to pierce the very core of men and things, and so it was invitable that he should sing in his poems of subjects with which his intellect grappled. But keen and powerful as Iqbal's intellect was, none knew so well as Iqbal that in song-writing intellect must be kept wholly subordinate to feeling. Thus Iqbal managed to introduce and propagate his philosophy of action and self development through rhymes and metres inherited from Hafiz, Naziri and Meer. It is the equipoise of thought and emotion, the strong sense latent and prevading the melody that places Iqbal's *Ghazals* amongst the finest the world has known. They not only reveal a perfect union of sound and form, but show that while Iqbal retained the old instrument in his hands the old soft melodies faded, and the same chords began to resound with quite different notes inspiring struggle and stress.

In all the three periods Iqbal's lyrics possesed some characteristics, which became more pronounced in the middle and the last periods. The first and foremost is his mysticism. All students of Persian poetry know that mysticism is its very soul. Before Abu Said Abul Khair began singing of his mystic experiences in poetry Persian poetry lacked the charm which today makes it so fascinating for readers all over the world. The very mention of mysticism brings to our minds names of great poets like Sanai, Attar, Rumi and Jami. Mystic thought in Islam developed in two schools. One school considered the universe as unreal, and being and not being as identical. This school sought self-effacement by merging in God. According to the other school the universe and the creation have a real existence apart from God, and the creation is not an illusion. By discountenancing mysticism based on renunciation and self-annihilation Iqbal has widened the scope of lyric poetry. Real life, according to him is nothing but a progressive succession of fresh ends, purpose and values. This in itself ensures an unending succession of those thrills of soul, those rapturous glows of feelings which provide the very substance which makes the finest lyric poetry. Moreover Iqbal's healthy mysticism enabled him to portray sentiments which will appeal to healthy minds in all ages and in all countries. A majority of mystic poems in Urdu and Persian are characterised by blank emptiness and desolation, and are little more than a wail of despair. Life is an illusion; so being and not being are equally good, and the best a man can do is to put an end to life and so

on. In his mystic poetry Iqbal provides a refreshing antidote to all such pernicious teachings and unhealthy sentiments.

The other characteristic of Iqbal's lyric poetry is his conception of Beauty and Love. Beauty is said to be the special domain of poets, and they see beauty in every thing except the really ignoble and so Iqbal saw beauty in everything in life, resolving even evil, a seeming incoherence, into the perfect rhythm of life. When we talk of beauty with reference to Persian poets we have to bear in mind that the Iranians are highly aesthetic people, with a keen eye for beauty in every form. To add anything original to a Persian poet's conception of beauty seems almost impossible. But Iqbal's conception of beauty is distinctly original. Whilst he saw beauty in every thing, the beauty which appealed to him most was the beauty of power and perfection. The sight of any object with power and perfection throws Iqbal into ecstasy. He sees beauty in the eagle and the hawk which is more inspiring than the beauty of the *Bulbul* and the *Qumri.* The sight of mighty mountains fills him with joy, and he is always talking of the Alwand and the Himalayas. Whilst Sadi, Hafiz, Saib, and Meer have all the grace and charm, they lack that vitalising glow, that invigorating touch which is the chief feature of Iqbal's lyric poetry.

Whilst Iqbal has sung of all human emotions in his poems, the theme of Love is paramount. Persian and Urdu poetry possesses a vast literature on Love, and this powerful emotion has been dealt with from every point of view. But to find any correspondence with Iqbal's ideas on love we have to go to Rumi. For Iqbal Love is a force that not only provides a solution for all human difficulties, but also a solvent for all human wickedness. It provides a cement for the jarring elements of the universe. We know that Iqbal's philosophy of life insists on ceaseless activity and insatiable yearning, and this is part and parcel of his Love also. He says :

من بندۂ آزادم عشق است امام من
عشق است امام من عقل است غلام من

اے عالم رنگ و بو ایں صحبت ما تا چند
مرگ است دوام تو عشق است دوام من!

Zabur-i-Ajam, P. 197

I am a free man, Love is my leader,
Love is my leader and Intellect is my slave.
O world of colour and smell how long is this association,
Thou art to perish, and I am to survive through love.

Iqbal's poetic genius was so comprehensive that even in the field of lyric poetry he displayed great versatility. He could write poems whose perfection resides in their spontaneity. But he could also produce poems whose perfection lies in their art. Yet again he could write poems in which both spontaneity and artistry seem to function more intensely than usual, and at the same time harmoniously. The combination makes Iqbal one of the greatest lyrical poets of the world. It is true that the total output of lyric poetry by Iqbal is not very great; in fact the output is small as compared with the works of well-known lyric poets in Urdu and Persian, but nobody finds fault with a violin because it has only a few strings.

صورت نه پرستم من ، بتخانه شکستم من
آن سیل سبک سیرم ، هر بند گسستم من
در بود و نبود من اندیشه گمانها داشت
از عشق هویدا شد ، این نکته که هستم من
در دیر نیاز من ، در کعبه نماز من
زنّار بدوشم من ، تسبیح بدستم من

Payam-i-Mashriq, P. 179

Not inclined to worship the apparent, I broke the Idol-House,
I am that rushing torrent which sweeps aside all obstacles!
About my being or not being, Intellect had doubts,
Love revealed the secret that I exist.
In a temple I offer homage, in Ka'ba I offer prayers,
I have the sacred thread round my shoulders and a rosary in my hand.

IX

IQBAL AS A TEACHER

The omnicompetence and versatility of Iqbal's genius are bewildering with the result that although he was a poet, philosopher, politician, lawyer, statesman, educationist and religious reformer, students of Iqbal have concentrated mainly on his work as a poet and a philosopher, and his work in other fields is not given the attention which it deserves. His work as educationist received attention for the first time when Mr. K. G. Saiyaidain's admirable study appeared, but still no serious attempt has been made to study his career as a teacher although it is well known that Iqbal started his career as a teacher and worked as a teacher for years. He taught philosophy, English literature, History and Economics in Pakistan, and Arabic literature in England. A close study of the years he spent as a teacher is bound to be of absorbing interest in revealing the hitherto obscure facets of his fascinating personality.

As is well known Iqbal passed his M.A. in 1899, and on 13th May 1899 he was appointed Mcleod Arabic Reader.[1] Thus started Iqbal's career as a teacher. But before proceeding further it will be interesting if we give some information about the Mcleod Readership. In 1870 when Punjab University College was established some Research Fellowships were founded along with it, for example Alexander Fellowship, Mcleod Kashmir Sanskrit Fellowship, Mcleod Punjab Arabic Fellowship, Mayo Patiala Fellowship, Mcleod Kapurthala Fellowship. These fellowships were subsidised by generous donations from the ruling chiefs of the Punjab, and their object was twofold—to translate books from European languages into Urdu and Hindi and to encourage the study of Oriental languages especially Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. Mcleod Punjab Arabic Fellowship was endowed by donations from the Ruling Chiefs of the Punjab and European gentlemen to commemorate the regime of Sir Donald Mcleod, the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab. These donaions yielded a monthly income of Rs. 75/- per mensem, but as a result of Sir Donald Mcleod's move the University raised by its own contributions this sum to Rs. 100/-. When the Punjab Univer-

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1. Dr. Ghulam Husain Zulfiqar : *Iqbal in Oriental College,* in Iqbal for April, 1962.

sity was founded in October 1882, the name of Fellowship was changed into Readership, but no changes were made in the functions, and emoluments also remained the same. But in spite of the emoluments of the Fellowship being fixed at Rs. 100/- there were numerous deductions and Iqbal drew only Rs. 73/-.

The duties of Mcleod Arabic Reader were:

(1) To supervise the printing of Arabic text-books,
(2) To translate Arabic and English books in Urdu,
(3) To teach in the Oriental College.

The Reader was appointed by the Syndicate subject to confirmation by the Senate. If the post fell vacant the Vice-Chancellor could appoint the Fellow pending decision by the Syndicate. The minimum qualifications required for the Readership were a degree with distinction in Arabic. The appointment was in the first instance for three years subject to extension by two years, after three months' notice. So far as teaching was concerned the Reader had to work under the Head of the Arabic Department in the Oriental College.

Professor Sir Thomas Arnold had joined the staff of the Government College on 11th February 1898, as Professor of Philosophy. At the time when Iqbal was appointed Mcleod Reader Arnold was in addition to his duties in the Govt. College also officiating as Principal of the Oriental College. So far as teaching of Arabic was concerned, Iqbal worked under that great scholar Moulvi Abdullah Tonki.

In 1899 the following classes were held in the Oriental College:

M.A.	Sanskrit and Arabic.
M.O.L.	Arabic.
B.O.L.	Arabic.
Intermediate	1st and 2nd year.
Sanskrit	Sanskrit, Bishod, Proficiency.
Arabic	Moulvi Fazil, Moulvi Alim, Moulvi.
Persian	Munshi Fazil, Munshi Alim, Munshi.

Students studying in F.A. and B.A. classes of the Government College used to come for Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit to the Oriental College. Out of these classes Iqbal taught some subjects only to B O.L. and Intermediate classes. The subjects which he taught are detailed below:

B.O.L. (1st and 2nd year)

History and Economics—6 periods in a week.

1. Seeley's Expansion of England.
2. Notes on History of India and England.
3. Fawcett's Political Economy.

Intermediate (2nd year)

1. Lodd's Primer of Psychology.
2. Ray's Deductive Logic.

Intermediate (1st year)

1. Ray's Deductive Logic.

This schedule indicates that Iqbal taught for 18 periods in a week, and each period consisted of 50 minutes.

There are two facts relating to Iqbal's connection with the Oriental College as a teacher that are supported by documentary evidence : (1) Iqbal left Oriental College finally on 3rd June 1903 and joined the staff of the Government College; (2) While serving in the Oriental College Iqbal took 6 months' leave from 4th October to 1st March 1903. But another interesting fact has come to our notice Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin has stated that when he was a student of Intermediate class in the Islamia College, Lahore (1901 or so) Iqbal taught him English literature. But it is difficult to say that Iqbal taught in the Islamia College as a full-time teacher after obtaining leave from the Oriental College or only served as a part-time teacher. It is on record that Sir Abdul Qadir who was then working as Editor of the *Observer* was working as Honorary teacher in the Islamia College. Not only this, he had also persuaded his friends, K.S. Abdul Aziz and Mian Abdul Aziz, to teach in the College in an honorary capacity. This was to help the College which was faced with financial difficulties. Hence it is probable that Sir Abdul Qadir had persuaded Iqbal also to take on teaching work in the College. Anyway there is need for further investigation in this connection. But some light is thrown on the subject as a result of Dr. Wahid Qureshi's painstaking and thorough researches. He has come to the definite conclusion that Iqbal served in the Oriental College for the following periods:

1. Iqbal in Oriental College, Iqbal Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 54.

From 13 May 1899 to 30th June 1901.

From 1st July 1902 to 3rd October 1902.

From 2nd March 1903 to 2nd June 1903.

A History of the Government College Lahore says about 1902:-

"Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal was appointed additional Professor of English for a period of six months."

This can only refer to the period from 4th October 1902 to 1st March 1903. Now we have to find an explanation for the leave that Iqbal took from 1st July 1901 to 30th June 1902. Probably Iqbal served during this period in the Islamia College. At present we can accept these statements, but it must be pointed out that there is need for further investigation in this connection It can be safely said that Iqbal taught History, Political Economy and Philosophy in the Oriental College while he served there, and English literature in the Islamia College. This went on till 2nd June. On 3rd June 1903 he was appointed Asstt. Professor of Philosophy in the Government College, Lahore. This opens a second chapter in the career of Iqbal as a teacher. Entry in *A History of the Government College* only shows that Iqbal was reappointed on 3rd June 1903. But when mentioning his proceeding on Study Leave, the History designated him as Asstt. Professor of Philosophy.

From 3rd June 1903 to October 1903 Iqbal worked in the Government College, Lahore, and taught Philosophy, English Literature, History and Political Economy. This information is available in his letters but confirmation from the University or College records is not available.

When Iqbal proceeded on three years' study leave in 1905 there started, in his teaching career, a third chapter. This period is very significant in Iqbal's career although its duration was only 6 months. It is well known that on reaching England Iqbal joined the Trinity College, Cambridge, as an Advance Student and he obtained his degree of B.A. in June 1907 by submitting a thesis. In October 1907 the degree of Ph. D. was conferred on him by the Munich University. His thesis was "*Development of Metaphysics in Persia*". During his stay in Europe he taught Arabic for six months during the absence on leave of Sir Thomas Arnold. This represents the third chapter in Iqbal's career as a teacher. It is not easy to obtain any detailed information about

this, but it is obvious that upto June 1907 Iqbal had to be in residence in Cambridge, and in the summer of 1907 he was busy in Germany preparing for his *viva*, so he had no time to do any teaching work in London. By October 1907 he had obtained his degree in Cambridge, his doctorate in Munich, and had passed his Law examination. So after October 1907 he had ample time. He had to stay in England till July 1908 to keep up the terms at Lincoln's Inn although he had passed all Law examinations in April 1907. Thus it can be safely said that Iqbal taught Arabic in the University College London for 6 months between November 1907 to June 1908—most probably between November 1907 to March 1908, because Sir Thomas Arnold would prefer to pass the six months of winter, instead of summer, in Cairo.

Iqbal returned home in July 1908[1]. He resigned his job in the Government College and concentrated on legal practice. But Mr. Wyatt Jones, officiating Professor of Philosophy in the Government College died on 1st May 1908. Mr. Robson, Principal of the College, persuaded Iqbal to take his place as a part-time teacher. But Iqbal was not willing to give up his legal work, which he evidently liked, completely. So Mr. Robson had to ask the Government of Punjab to request the authorities of the Chief Court to take Iqbal's cases only in the afternoon, as Iqbal was busy with teaching in the morning.

It is obvious from Iqbal's letters to Atiya Begum that the Government of Punjab had approved of Iqbal's appointment on a permanent job in the Indian Educational Service as Professor in the Govt. College, but Iqbal preferred to resign. And we have the following information from a *History of the Government College* relating to the year 1911:-

"Mr. L.P. Saunders, Professor of Philosophy in the Deccan College, Poona, was appointed Professor of philosophy and relieved. Dr. Mohd. Iqbal on the 1st January 1911".[2] This closed the fourth chapter of Iqbal's career as a teacher.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal worked as Professor of Philosophy in the Govt. College Lahore from May 1908 to 1st. Jan. 1911. During this period he taught Philosophy and English Literature and probably other subjects also.

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1. Abdul Majid Salik : *Zikr-i-Iqbal*, p. 63.
2. H.L.O. Garret: *a History of the Govt. College, Lahore*, p. 115.

In 1918 Iqbal had to undertake teaching work under peculiar circumstances. In this year Dr. Haig, Professor of Philosophy in Islamia College, died in Lahore of small-pox, and at the request of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, Iqbal taught Philosophy to the M.A. classes for 2 months. Referring to this Iqbal wrote to Akbar Allahabadi :-

جواب دینے میں تا خیر ہوئی جس کے لئے معافی چاھتا ھوں ۔ وجہ یہ ھے که آج کل معمول سے زیادہ مصروفیت ھے ۔ اسلامیه کالج لاھور کے پروفیسر فلسفه ڈاکٹر ھیگ چیچک کی بیماری سے دفعتاً انتقال کر گئے اور انجمن حمایت اسلام لاھور کے اصرار پر دو ماہ کے لئے کالج کی ایم اے کی جماعت مجھ کو لینی پڑی۔ امید ھے که دو ماہ تک نیا پروفیسر مل جائے گا ۔ یه لڑکے شام کو ھر روز میرے مکان پر آ جاتے ھیں ۔ دن میں جو تھوڑی بہت فرصت ھوتی ھے اس میں ان کے لیکچر کے لئے کتب دیکھتا ھوں ۔ لیکچر ان کی ذھنی مایوسیوں اور ناکامیوں کا افسانه ھے ۔ جسے عرف عام میں تاریخ فلسفه کہتے ھیں ۔1

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal taught such diverse subjects as Philosophy, English literature, Arabic language and literature, History and Political Economy. He took his work as a teacher seriously and prepared for his lectures with great conscientiousness. We have on record the opinions of some of his students that as a teacher he was inspiring; for example Mian Ataur Rahman who read English poetry with Iqbal, probably in 1910, says:

” اول تو لکھنے والا شیلے ۔ دوسرے اس کی وہ نظم جو انتہائی جذبے کی حالت میں لکھی گئی ۔ اور تیسرے پڑھانے والا ڈاکٹر محمد اقبال جو خود گہرے تخیل کا بادشاہ ۔ اس مجموعه کے شاگردوں کی جماعت نے ان افراد پر جو حساس دل رکھتے تھے وہ اثر کیا که تمام عمر فراموش نہیں ھو سکتا ۔ اس نظم کے پچپن بند ھیں اور ڈاکٹر صاحب پینتالیس منٹ کے ایک کالج کے گھنٹے میں نو نو مصرع کا ایک بند ھی روزانه پڑھاتے تھے ۔ اس سے آپ اندازہ کر سکتے ھیں که ان کو پڑھانے میں اور جماعت کو پڑھنے میں کتنا لطف حاصل ھوتا ھوگا ۔ جب شیلے کے خیالات کو علامه اقبال جیسا آدمی سمجھانے کی غرض سے واضح کرے اور ھر خیال کے ساتھ مقابله یا موازنه کے طور پر اپنے اور اردو شعرا کے خیالات بھی پیش کرے تو سامعین کی خوش قسمتی کا کون اندازہ کر سکتا ھے ۔ ایک دریا تھا جو بہتا چلا آتا تھا ۔ علامه کے منه سے پھول جھڑتے تھے ۔ اور دل یه ھی چاھتا تھا که وہ اسی طرح پڑھاتے جائیں ۔ اور ھم دن بھر خاموش بیٹھ کر سنا کریں ۔ کالج کا گھنٹه جو عام طور پر طالب علم کے لئے محنت سے چھٹکارے کی مسرت انگیز خبر

1. *Iqbal Namah* Vol. II, pp. 73-74.

لئے ھوئے آتا ھے اس گھنٹه کے ختم ھونے تک دل پر چوٹ کی شکل میں لگتا تھا۔
اور با دل ناخواسته اٹھ کر کمرے سے باھر چلے جاتے تھے[1] -

As a teacher Iqbal was very kind and sympathetic. One of his students writes:

مجھے یاد نہیں که اقبال نے کبھی کسی لڑکے کو کسی قصور پر سزا دی
ھو - بلکه دھمکی تک بھی نہیں دی[2]۔

Thus, it is obvious that as a teacher Iqbal was very kind to his students who in their turn simply adored him.

Now there remains the question as to what made Iqbal decide to give up the profession of teaching. He loved reading for which the profession provided ample scope. He enjoyed teaching. By his appointment in the Indian Educational Service, for which the Governor of the Punjab was willing to recommend him, he would have been assured of good prospects and financial security. There is no doubt that he loved the profession of law but the profession of a teacher had many advantages. The day he resigned his post in the Govt. College he told his servant Ali Baksh: "Ali Baksh I have a message for my people and I can deliver it better if I am free." But perhaps this freedom he could have also enjoyed if he had accepted a post in the Aligarh College (later on Muslim University of Aligarh). He wrote to Atiya Begum in April 1909 that he was offered the chair of Philosophy by the Aligarh College but he refused. Justice Shah Din always used to press him to join the staff of the Aligarh College. Anyway Iqbal felt that as a lawyer he could deliver his message to the Millat better. It was a great sacrifice on the part of Iqbal. He not only gave up a lucrative post, but also a work which he enjoyed immensely.

Now a word about Iqbal's conception of a good teacher. We have his letter to Akbar Allahabadi in which he says that:

بہر حال ان لکچروں کے بہانے سے ان لڑکوں کے کان میں کوئی نه کوئی
مذھبی نکته ڈالنے کا موقعه مل جاتا ھے[3] -

Thus according to Iqbal the object of a teacher must always be to impress upon his students moral and spiritual truths which

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1. Iqbal Review, June, 1962, p. 6.
2. Ibid.
3. *Iqbal Namah*, Part II, p. 74, 1951.

only can give meaning to life. To attain this object he considered the personal influence of the teacher as of great importance. He says :

یہ فیضان نظر تھا یا کہ مکتب کی کرامت تھی
سکھائے کس نے اسماعیل کو آداب فرزندی[1]

By فیضان نظر he means personal influence. Iqbal expresses the same idea in the following lines:

صد کتاب آموزی از اهل هنر خوش تر آں درسے که گیری از نظر[2]

1. *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 21.
2. *Javid-Namah*, p. 238.

X

ON TRANSLATING IQBAL

Writing in that excellent book, '*On Translation,*' Dudley Fitts has remarked: "The way of translator is hard, but it need not be desperate."[1] In spite of the difficulties of the task literary men appear now and then who undertake the translation of great works, in prose as well as poetry from one language into another, and these translations are read by students with great pleasure. It must be remembered that a good translation involves two processes at the same time; it is, first, a re-living of the author's creative experience, and, secondly, the transmitting of something of that experience to others. It is obvious that this twofold task can be accomplished only by competent translators.

Mr. Savory in his excellent book, '*The Art of Translation,*'[2] has given a list of twelve propositions which hould govern the craft of a translator. On closer analysis these twelve propositions can be reduced to the two given below :—

(i) Should a translation be literal first and literary afterwards? Or the other way round?

(ii) Has the translator done his job if he has expressed the sense of his orlginal in any style or idiom he chooses to employ? Or is he bound in some way to represent the style and idiom of his original?

The best answer to these pertinent questions is provided by the Oxford scholar, R. A. Knox, who, in his Sheldonian Lecture of 1957, said: "Books are meant to be read, and first quality of a book is that people shall read it and want to go on reading it. You have done a disservice to your original if the reader puts your translation down, almost at once, saying to himself: 'I expect this stuff would be rather fine, if one knew Greck'. You have gone to make him say: This is fine, whatever sacrifice of literalness it may involve." Thus we come to the conclusion that every translation

1. R. A. Boners, Editor, *On Translation*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1959.

2. Savory, *The Art of Translation,* Jonathan Cape, London 1957.

must be literary first and literal afterwards, with the proviso that it must not fail to express the author's meaning.

This is true of translation in general; but when we come to translating poetry in particular, the difficulty of maintaining the delicate balance between the literary and the literal increases manifold. Jackson Mathews has remarked: "Poetry is a kind of writing that uses all the resources of language. It is involved bodily in the particular language of which it is made, and does not evolve out of it, as prose tries to do and seems to do. Painters, scupltors and musicians can be understood beyond the borders of their own country, but a poet, as Valery says, is never profoundly, intimately and completely understood and felt but by his own people : he is inseparable from the speech of his nation. The prose-writer, the novelist, the philosopher can be translated, and often are, without too much damage. But to the poet belongs the privilege and inevitable disadvantage that this work cannot be translated either into prose or into a foreign language. A true poet is strictly untranslatable." [1] All that Valery has written deserves our attention; still we know that thousands and thousands of people all over the world have enjoyed, and are enjoying immensely, Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in translation. It is certainly true that to appreciate any poet properly we must be able to read him in the original, yet an average man cannot master so many languages, and so we all have to depend to a great extent on translation.

Once we decide to translate poetry, the question arises wether it should be translated into prose or into verse. In this connection we have the following remarks of Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge, whose translations of *Selections from Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz* have won praise from all critics. He says: "My translation seems to reconcile the claims of accuracy and art: it is therefore in prose. Obviously English verse cannot convey the full sense of Oriental poetry without lapsing into grotesque doggerel : the translator must either profess a general adherence to his author's meaning or, rising above the latter, he must catch the elusive spirit of his original, and reproduce it in a worthy form. Of this, the highest and rarest kind of translation, Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayam,* is a classic." [2]

On the other hand, we have some excellent translations into verse. Even Nicholson has translated several Arabic and Persian poems into

1. Jackson Matthews, "Third Thoughts on Translating Poetry", In on *Translation.*

2. R. A. Nicholson, *Selections from Diwan-I-Shams-i-Tabriz*, P. 12.

verse with great success and effect. It is certainly true that if we limit translation to verse the number of translators, not very large in any case, will be reduced still further; because there are not many who can write good verse or, for that matter, verse of any kind. While it can be said that translations into verse can display the poetic qualities of the original in a better degree, translations into prose can also be successful in the hands of artists. So we can safely agree with Jackson Mathews when he says: "Could it be that the antique question: should verse be translated into verse or into prose ? has found its answer: both." [1]

Stephen Spender has remarked: "A poet's aim, as a translator, should not be absolute accuracy but to return to the source of the poet's inspiration and create a parallel poem in the English language." In this connection we are reminded of a story about Iqbal told by Dr. M. D. Taseer. Dr. Taseer says, that whenever Iqbal wanted any of his verses translated into English he used to ask him to do it. Once Taseer told Iqbal that he himself was the best person to translate his own poetry. Upon this Iqbal remarked: "When I start translating into English any of my poems the translation becomes a new poem, and this is what a translator should avoid."

Up to date Iqbal has been translated into Russian, German, Czech, Italian, French and English amongst the European languages, and Persian, Urdu, Arabic, Indonesian, Chinese and Bengali amongst the Eastern languages. It is time to survey these translations, especially those in the European languages, and see if the existing translations offer some guidance for future workers. Let us start with the translations into English.

In English we have the following translations of Iqbal :

Translation of the *Asrar-i-Khudi* by R, A. Nicholson.

Translation of the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* by A. J. Arberry.

Translation of the *Rubais* of *Payam-i-Mashriq* by A,J. Arberry,

Translation of the Ghazals of *Zabur-i-Ajam* by A. J. Arberry.

Translations of the *Javid Namah* by Mahmud Ahmad and A. J. Arberry.

Translation of the *Gulshan-i-Raz-Jadid and Bandagi Namah* by Bashir Ahmed Dar.

1. op. cit. P. 77.

Translation of *Poems from Iqbal* by V. G. Kiernan.

Translation of *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah* by A. J. Arberry and Altaf Ḥusain and of *Khidr-i-Rah* by A. Q. Niaz.

Of these, the translations of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, *Gulshan-i-Raz-Jadid* and *Bandagi Namah* are in prose, while the others are in verse. The translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi* is by that great Orientalist, R.A. Nicholson, well known as Rumi's translator. His translations of Rumi's *Ghazals* cannot be surpassed in beauty and grandeur. Yet it must be admitted that his translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi* is lacking in these qualities. On the whole it is correct and dignified, but the fire and passion of the original are missing. Where the original has lyrical fervour, it is only faintly reflected in the translation, and perhaps it can be said, taken as a whole the translation is rather insipid. The original translation even contained many mistakes. Iqbal himself pointed out most of these. Those who possess the first edition of the translation can see that some of the mistakes made by the translator were ridiculous. In line 34 Iqbal says :

بر سر بازار بشکن شیشه را

Nicholson has translated this as "Break the bottles in the Bazar."

Iqbal wrote to Nicholson شیشه برسر بازار شکستن is an idiom which means to disclose the secret." Still Nicholson did not correct the translation. In line 446 Iqbal says :

صورت طفلاں زنے مرکب کنی

Nicholson translated this as "And ride like children on a woman's back." Iqbal translated this as "ride like children on a reed." Nicholson accepted this correction in the revised edition.

When a record of the mistakes pointed out by Iqbal came into the hands of Professor A. J. Arberry he wrote: "The most arresting fact which emerged from the study of this new material was the extreme difficulty of reading a correct interpretation of many passages in Iqbal's poetry. Professor Nicholson was at the height of his great powers when he made his translation of the *Asrar-i-Khudi*; it was shortly after the completion of this task that he began work on the *Mathnavi* of Jalal-al-Din Rumi, a labour which occupied the rest of his life, and crowned his splendid achievements in the field of oriental studies. All who put their hands to translating Iqbal may therefore well feel humbled, when they consider how many times the inner sense of his poeery escaped Professor Nicholson's deep and careful

scholarship. But they may well rejoice that fortune has preserved this unique example of Iqbal's exegesis of his own writings; by studying carefully the material which is assembled in these pages, the future worker in this field will find much to assist his undertaking." [1]

As remarked above, in spite of occasional incorrect renderings, the translation is beautiful in places, as will be seen in the following example. Describing the advent of the Perfect Man Iqbal says :

ای سوار اشهب دوران بیا　　ای فروغ دیدهٔ امکان بیا
رونق هنگامهٔ ایجاد شو　　در سواد دیده ها آباد شو
شورش اقوام را خاموش کن　　نغمهٔ خود را بهشت گوش کن
خیز و قانون اخوت ساز ده　　جام صهبائے محبت باز ده
باز در عالم بیار ایام صلح　　جنگجویان را بده پیغام صلح

These lines have been translated by Nicholson as below :

Appear, O rider of Destiny !
Appear, O light of the dark realm of change !
Illumine the scene of existence,
Dwell in the blackness of our eyes !
Silence the noise of the nations,
Imparadise our ears with thy music !
Arise and tune the harp of brotherhood,
Give us back the cup of the wine of love !
Bring once more days of peace to the world,
Give a message of peace to them that seek battle !

Unfortunately the translation of the third verse is not correct. '*Shorish*' has been translated as "noise;" it will be more correct to translate it as 'tumult'. One feels tempted to give another example : praying for a confidant Iqbal says :

شمع را تنها تپیدن سہل نیست　　آه یک پروانهٔ من اهل نیست
انتظار غمگسارے تا کجا　　جستجوئے رازدارے تا کجا
این امانت باز گیر از سینه ام　　خار جوهر برکش از آئینه ام
یا مرا یک همدم دیرینه ده　　عشق عالم سوز را آئینه ده

Asrar-i-Khudi, P. 88—89.

These lines are translated as below :

1. A. J. Arberry, *Notes on Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi*, Ashraf, Lahore.
2. Asrar-o-Rumuz, p. 51.

It is not easy for the candle to throb alone.
Ah, is there no moth worthy of me ?
How long shall I wait for one to share my grief ?
How long must I search for a confidant ?
Take back what thou hast put in my breast,
Remove the stabbing radiance from my mirror.
Or give me one old comrade
To be the mirror of mine all-burning love !

As will be noticed the above translation is literary as well as literal.

Professor Arberry has translated the quatrains contained in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* into verse, and published them under the title '*The Tulip of Sinai.*' On the whole the translations are excellent, but in some cases the learned translator has missed the sense of the original. For instance, there is Iqbal's *rubai* :

سحر می گفت بلبل باغباں را دریں گل جز نہال غم نگیرد
به پیری می رسد خار بیاباں ولے گل چوں جواں گردد بمیرد

Payam-i-Mashriq, P. 15.

Professor Arberry has translated this as below :

At dawn thc Bulbul to the gardener spoke ;
Within this clay the roots of sorrow lie,
The desert thorn thrives on till it is old,
The rose blossoms in youth, that it may die ;

As regards his translation of *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, Arberry says: "In casting this translation in the form of unrhymed verse—the original is written in rhyming couplets. I have tried, while seeking strict fidelity to the meaning, to convey something of the poetical flavour of the Persian model." [1]

In spite of all his scholarship and the care he took to understand and interpret Iqbal correctly, mistakes are not uncommon. For example, let us see the translation of these verses :

1. *The Mysteries of Selflessness,* John Murray, London, p. XVII.

قاید اسلامیان هاروں رشید آنکه نقفور آب تیغ او چشید

گفت مالک را که اے مولاے قوم روشن از خاک درت سیماے قوم

اے نوا پرداز گلزار حدیث از تو خواهم درس اسرار حدیث

Rumuz-i-Bekhndi, pp. 184—185.

Harun Rashid, that captain of the faith ;
Whose blade to Nicephor of Byzance proved
A deadly potion, unto Malik spoke
Upon this fashion : Master of my folk ;
The dust before whose door illuminates
My people's brow, melodious nightingale
Caroling mid the roses of good words,
I am desirous to be taught by thee
The secrets of those words.

It seems that the learned translator has failed to understand the meaning of *Hadith*.

The translation of the *Zabur-i-Ajam*, the *ghazal* portion—is in graceful and eloquent English. The translation of aportion of a *ghazal* is given below by way of illustration :

زمستان را سر آمد روزگاران نواها زنده شد در شاخساران

گلان را رنگ و نم بخشد هوا ها که می آید ز طرف جوئباران

ز بیم آن که ذوقش کم نگردد نگویم حال دل با رازداران

Zabur-i-Ajam, p. 53.

The days are ended
Of winter long,
The branches quiver
With living song.
The breeze in beauty
Arrays the rose,
As from the river
It gently blows.
Lest my heart's passion
May softer grow,
Not to the trusty
I'll tell my woe.

When referring to translations of such beauty and charm it seems churlish to refer to certain oversights, but it is necessary to point these out with the object of showing how difficult it is to translate Iqbal. Professor Arberry has translated the following couplet :

زیادهٔ که بخاک من آتشے آمیخت
پیالهٔ بجوانان نو نیاز آور

Zabur-i-Ajam, p. 8

Fill me the fiery goblet
That made my dust to flame.
Youth thirsts anew, desirous,
And youth shall quaff the same.

Here the learned translator has failed to grasp the poet's meaning.

The collection, known as *Zabur-i-Ajam*, is divided into four parts, the first two parts consist of *ghazals*. As pointed out above, these have been translated into English by Arberry. The third part is known as *Gulshan-i-Raz-Jadid*, and the fourth as *Bandagi Namah*. *Gulshan-i-Raz-Jadid* and *Bandagi Namah* have been translated into English by Mr. B. A. Dar. The translation by Mr. Dar is in prose ; unfortunately the beauty and freshness of the original are lacking in the translation. But the translation contains exhaustive explanatory notes which are very helpful in understanding the poems.

The translation of *Javid Namah* by Professor Mahmud Ahmad is in unrhymed verse. The translation represents a fairly faithful rendering of the original and is a correct metrical composition. But unfortunately it abounds in quaint and archaic expressions, inversions, and other such features which tend to deprive it of the poetic felicity of the original, still the translation is, on the whole, excellent. The translation by Professor Arberry represents several year's hard work and reflects the beauty of the original. In order to give an idea of the beauty of Arberry's rendering translation of some verses is given below :

آں گل و سرو و سمن آں شاخسار　　از لطافت مثل تصویر بہار
ہر زماں برگ و گل و برگ شجر　　دارد از ذوق نمو رنگ دگر
ایں قدر باد صبا افسوں گر است　　تا مژہ برہم زنی زرد احمر است
ہر طرف فوارہ ہا گوہر فروش　　مرغک فردوس زاد اندر خروش

These roses, the cypresses, the jasmines, the flowering boughs
Delicate as a picture painted by the hand of spring ;
The petals of the leaves of the trees every moment
put on a new colour out of the joy of growth—such a spell-binder
the zephyr is that as you wink gold is turned scarlet ;
On every side pearl-scattering fountains; birds born of Paradise
in clamant song.

As will be noticed the translation preserves the imagery and beauty of the original in a remarkable degree.

In the introduction to the translation, Professor Arberry has referred to the difficulties in translating Iqbal. Quoting the translation of certain verses by Iqbal himself, Professor Arberry has some interesting remarks to make. The verses are :

خواست تا از آب و گل آید برون　　　خوشهٔ کز کشت دل آید برون
آنچه او جوید مقام کبریاست　　　این مقام از عقل و حکمت ماوراست

Iqbal has translated the above lines as below:
That 'I am' which he seeketh
Lieth beyond philosophy, beyond knowledge.
The plant which groweth only from the invisible soil of the
heart of man,
Groweth not from a mere heap of clay.

Professor Arberry says about Iqbal's translation: "The poet thus not only reversed the original order of the two couplets, but also changed the main clause itself in opposition to immediately preceding sentence and having the same verbal construction, from the past to the present ; nor, as will be seen, were these the only liberties he took with himself—liberties which would surely be condemned in any ordinary translation."[1]

It will be interesting to compare Iqbal's translation with that by Professor Arberry :—

He yearned for these to come forth from water and clay a cluster
sprouting from the seed-bud of the heart.
What he was seeking was the station of Omnipotence which station
transcends reason and philosophy.

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1. A.J. Arberry, Translation of *Javid Namah*, Allen & Union, London, 1966. p. 14.

Poems of Iqbal containing translations by V.G. Kiernan, published in the first instance by Kutb Publishers, Bombay, and then by John Murray of London in "The Wisdom of the East Series," represents the most satisfying translation of Iqbal's poems. The translator has attempted successfully to copy not only the original rhyme schemes, but has succeeded in a remarkable way in imitating the cadence of the quantitative Urdu metres in his accentuated English metres, as in the case of poems like *The Mosque of Cordova* and *Time*. At the same time, the rendering of the metaphors and images of the original with judicious modifications, so as to render them understandable to English readers, is also praiseworthy. Such being the requirements that the translator set out to fulfil, it is not surprising that some mistakes have crept into the translation or that the language at times acquires a certain stiffness. To give one example of wrong translation we have to mention the following tribute Iqbal pays to Shakespeare :

Beauty is the mirror of truth, and the human heart of beauty,
While the mirror of the human heart is the beauty of your works.

Kiernan has translated the above lines as below:

Beauty truth's mirror, Beauty's the heart, the dower.

Of the heart's glass your word's great carnival.[1]

It is unnecessary to point out that the translator has missed the sense of the original, which is that the best mirror of the human heart is Shakespeare's poetry.

Notwithstanding these minor defects, it must be admitted that, on the whole, the translations by Kiernan are beautiful and have been obviously accomplished with great labour, so that every line reflects a high degree of sensitivity. The translator has said about his task: "In translating these poems I have tried, first of all, to give the sense of the originals as exactly as possible without addition or substraction. As regards form I have kept to regular metres throughout."[2]

Among other translations in English may be mentioned those of *Khidr-i-Rah* by A.Q. Niaz, and of *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah* by Altaf Husain and Professor Arberry. These are all good translations.

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1. V.G. Kiernan, *poems from Iqbal,* Kutb Bombay, 1945. p. 42.
2. Ibid, John Murray, London 1955, p. 120.

The translation of *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah* by Arberry represents a fine composition. The translations by Niaz are also accurate.

Before we consider translations of Iqbal in other European languages let us sum up the work of Nicholson, Arberry and Kiernan. These are all great names in the world of scholarship, and at least the former two have had wide experience in translating poetry from Persian. Moreover, all these had help from Pakistani scholars in reading the original. Dr. Nicholson read *Asrar-i-Khudi* with Dr. Shafi, who later on became the Principal of Oriental College, Lahore. Professor Arberry freely consulted Maulana Abdul Majid Salik. Mr. Kiernan consulted Dr. Nazir Ahmad of Government College, Lahore. In spite of the translators' scholarship and experience, and the help that was available to them, we notice, with regret, that mistakes have crept into the translations. As a matter of fact, mistakes in the translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi* by Nicholson, which were pointed out by Iqbal, form a full size pamphlet. Hence it is clear that some more definite action, by way of assistance, is indicated wherever a translation of Iqbal's poetry is contemplated. A reference to some of these defects in translation was made by Nicholson himself when he remarked about his translation of *Asrar-i-Khudī*: "Often however, the ideas themselves, being associated with peculiar Oriental ways of thinking, are hard for our minds to follow. I am not sure that I have always grasped the meaning or rendered it correctly."[1] Professor Arberry had admitted: "I know of no Oriental poet who confronts the translator with problems so various and so stubborn."[2] Still, while mentioning these defects, we must express our gratitude to these translators for having undertaken the difficult task of translating Iqbal, and for having spent on it so much labour as well as love. Their work has brought the beauties and glories of Iqbal's poetry within the reach of so many people all over the world.

Now we come to other European languages. As is well known, Iqbal's fame spread rapidly on the European Continent, and he has been translated into several European languages; his poems were translated into German by Dr. Otto Von Glassenapp, at one time Vice-President of the German State Bank, and Professor Hell of Erlangen University. This introduced him to the German speaking

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1. R.A. Nicholson *The Secrets of Self*, Macmillan & Co., London, 1920.
2. A.J. Arberry, *The Mystries of Selflessness,* John Murray, 1953, p.X

world. Apart from these translations, his *Javid Namah* and *Payam-i-Mashriq* were translated into German by Professor Annemarie Schimmel of Bonn University. As regards the translation of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* published under the name of *Botschaft des Osten*, Dr. Reyazul Hasan says: "As regards her translation there is no doubt that she has a remarkable facility of turning Persian text into appropriate German verse. The rhymes run smoothly and the metres have happy endings. The spirit of Persian expressions and similes is generally maintained. I believe the translator must have had to wrestle with words on many occasions. Although the German language lends a special facility for word formations, yet at places her translation seems to suffer from three defects. Firstly, when she does not conform to the original meaning and leaves out important expressions. Secondly, where she has not correctly understood the delicacy of the Persian idiom or the intricacy of Persian Grammar. Thirdly, where she has added something of her own either for reasons of rhyme or for other purposses."[1] Dr. Reyazul Hasan suggests that the translation must be revised with the help of a Persian scholar. While pointing out the main defects of this translation, we must not fail to record our gratitude to this talented translator for introducing Iqbal to the German people in a way which previous translations had not done.

The same remarks apply to Professor Schimmel's translation of *Javid Namah*, although when translating this work, Professor Schimmel had the help of Professor Bausani's translation in Italian.

In Italian Professor Bausani has not only made a complete translation of the *Javid Namah* and *Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid*, but has also published the translation of a collection of Iqbal's poems in Italian. It is the opinion of critics that, although these translations are in prose, on occasions they rise to great poetical heights. The translator has also maintained a scholarly fidelity to the original. By means of illuminating footnotes he has helped the reader to go to the heart of the poet's meaning.

Iqbal has been translated into French by Madam Meyerovitch. The story of these translations reads like a romance. Madam Meyerovitch came across a copy of Iqbal's '*Reconstruction of Religious Thought*.' She read it and was so impressed by the profundity of Iqbal's thought and the depth of his learning that she translated the book into French.

1. The Morning News, Karachi, 10 October, 1964.

This work so charmed her that she wanted to read Iqbal's poetry, and with this object in view, she studied Persian. After learning Persian she translated the *Javid Namah, Zabur-i-Ajam* and *Payam-i-Mashriq* into French prose. Critics maintain that these translations are in beautiful language and on the whole correct.

A great scholar of Czechoslovakia, Professor John Marek of Prague University, has translated Iqbal into Czech. Professor Marek has lived for a long time in India and Pakistan. He has discussed Iqbal's poetry with Indian and Pakistani scholars and so with some notable exceptions he generally succeeds in grasping Iqbal's meaning. Professor Marek's translations are said to be correct and in good language. They are very popular in Czechoslovakia. His criticism of Iqbal is mostly based on political grounds.

Lately Iqbal has become very popular in the U.S.S.R. and a number of translations have appeared, mostly under the direction of Professor N.P. Anikeyev of the Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., Moscow. As the Institute has many scholars whose mother tongue is Persian, it is safe to assume that the translators have not made many mistakes in interpreting Iqbal.

Coming to the Eastern world, Iqbal has been translated into the Indonesian, Chinese, and Bengali languages. It is not possible for the present writer to express an opinion on the quality of these translations; but it must be stated that the translations into Bengali are by masters of that language. One collection of Iqbal's Urdu poems *Bal-i-Jibril* has been translated into Persian by a Pakistani scholar, Dr. Irfani; otherwise Iranians are quite content with reading Iqbal's Persian poems only. In Indonesia Mr. Bahram Roughbuti has translated *Asrar-i-Khudi* and several other poems. These translations are very popular in Indonesia.

It is actually into Arabic and Turkish that Iqbal has been translated with great effect. In Arabic a Pakistani scholar, Hasan-al-Azami, was the first to bring out an anthology of translations. This included Saidy Aly Shalan's translations of the *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah*. Amina Nureddin published an anthology in Baghdad. But the greatest contribution to translations in Arabic has been made by that great scholar Abdul Wahhab Azzam, whose untimely death deprived the world of a great student of Iqbal. He has translated the *Payam-i-Mashriq* and *Asrār-o-Rumuz*. Abdul Wahhab Azzam was a scholar of Persian and used to write Arabic verse with great ease. Moreover, he had read

Iqbal's poems with some eminent Pakistani scholars; hence his translations, besides being faithful to the original have the fire and colour of Iqbal The Arabic-reading public has acclaimed these translations as something new and a definite enrichment of Arabic literature. Similarly, translations of Iqbal into Turkish, especially those by Tarlan, are beautiful.

It is unnecessary to deal with the translations of Iqbal into the regional languages of Pakistan. They have a limited circulation and only a sentimental value.

Some of Iqbal's Persian poems have been translated into Urdu verse, for example, the *Asrar-i-Khudī* by Justice S.A. Rahman and Professor Abdul Rashid, and *Payam-i-Mashriq* by Abdul Rahman Tariq. These are excellent translations and give a good impression of the original.

So far as English is concerned we are lucky to have for our guidance translations of some of his verses by Iqbal himself, and these should be very helpful to all future translatros. We give below the translation of some lines from *Javid Namah*:

زندهٔ یا مردهٔ یا جاں بلب
از سه شاهد کن شهادت را طلب
شاهد اول شعور خویشتن
خویش را دیدن بنور خویشتن
شاهد ثانی شعور دیگرے
خویش را دیدن بنور دیگرے
شاهد ثالث شعور ذات حق
خویش را دیدن بنور ذات حق
پیش این نور ار بمانی استوار
حی و قائم چون خدا خود را شمار
چیست معراج آرزوئے شاهدے
امتحانے روبروئے شاهدے
شاهد عادل که بے تصدیق او
زندگی ما را چو گل را رنگ و بو
در حضورش کس نماند استوار
ور بماند هست او کامل عیار

ذرهٔ از کف مده تابے که هست
پخته گیر اندر گره تابے که هست
تاب خود را برفزودن خوشتر است
پیش خورشید آزمودن خوشتر است
پیکر فرسوده را دیگر تراش
امتحان خویش کن "موجود" باش
این چنین "موجود" محمود است و بس
ورنه نار زندگی دود است و بس

Iqbal has translated these lines as below:

Art thou in the stage of 'life', 'death', or 'death-in-life'?
Invoke the aid of three witnesses to verify thy 'Station';
The first witness is thine own consciousness—
See thyself, then, with thine own light.
The second witness is the consciousness of another ego—
See thyself, then, with the light of an ego other than thee.
The third witness is God's consciousness—
See thyself, then with God's light.
If thou standest unshaken in front of this light,
Consider thyself as living and eternal as He!
That man alone is real who dares—
Dares to see God face to face!
What is 'Ascension'? Only a search for a witness
Who may finally confirm the reality—
A witness whose confirmation alone makes thee eternal.
No one can stand unshaken in His Presence;
And he who can, verily, he is pure gold.
Art thou a mere particle of dust?
Tighten the knot of thy ego,
And hold fast to thy tiny being!
How glorious to burnish one's ego
And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun!
Re-chisel, then, thine ancient frame;
And build up a new being.
Such being is real being;
Or else they ego is a mere ring of smoke!

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam p. 188.

The above lines have also been translated by Professor Arberry, and his translation is given below:

Whether you be alive or dead, or dying—
for this seek witness from three witnesses.
The first witness is self-consciousness,
to behold oneself in one's own light;
the second witness is the consciousness of another,
to behold oneself in another's light;
the third witness is the consciousness of God's essence.
If you remain fast before this light,
Count yourself living and abiding as God!
Life is to attain one's own station,
life is to see the Essence without a veil;
the true believer will not make do with Attributes—
the Prophet was not content save with Essence.
What is Ascension? The desire for a witness,
an examination face-to-face of a witness—
a competent witness without whose confirmation
life to us is like colour and scent to a rose.
In that presence no man remains firm,
or if he remains, he is of perfect assay.
Give not away one particle of the glow you have,
Knot tightly together the glow within you;
fairer it is to increase one's glow,
fairer it is to test oneself before the sun;
then chisel anew the crumbled form;
make proof of yourself; be a true being!
Only such an existent is praiseworthy,
otherwise the fire of life is mere smoke.[1]

Professor Arberry has, through a combination of poetry and scholarship, achieved an English translation not unworthy of Iqbal's genius and true to the reader's demand for living diction, clarity, and swiftness. While retaining the lyric and mystic spirit of the original, he has succeeded to a large extent in finding modern English equivalent of Iqbal's style. Both translations are so perfect that it will be impertinence to make any remarks comparing them. Reading them one realises the desirability of encouraging more than one translation of Iqbal's poems.

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1. A.J. Arberry, Translation of *Javid Namah* pp. 1-30.

There are critics who object to translation of poetry into verse. We have already dealt with this question above, but we would like to quote the translator of Homer's *Odyssey:* "This translation of the *Odyssey* in verse is the first to be published for many years. The prose renderings available, though good in their kind, give an inadequate impression of Homer's epic poem: they can neither imitate the rhythms nor achieve the dramatic tension of the original."[1]

It is certainly difficult, at times, to find suitable expressions for typically Oriental ideas in a European language, especially with the limitations that the requirements of meter and rhyme impose; but those who maintain that these difficulties are insurmountable, should read Gertrude Bell's translations of Hafiz or Nicholson's translation of al-Ma'arri.

It will be seen that we have briefly surveyed the translations of Iqbal in various languages, and as a result of this survey we can draw some useful conclusions for the guidence of future translators:

1. Translations of Iqbal can be in prose or in verse.

2. So far as European languages are concerned, we find that even eminent scholars, like Nicholson, have very often failed to interpret Iqbal correctly. Hence every possible help must be extended to translators by the various bodies which exist encouraging the study of Iqbal.

3. Where this is not possible translations, as soon as published, must be scrutinised under the supervision of such bodies, and if any gross errors are detected in the translations they should be pointed out to the translators. In most cases translators will be only too glad to know cases of wrong interpretation.

4. There is no doubt that Iqbal's poetry is, at times, capable of more than one interpretation; hence even in one language we can have more than one translation. We must remember that so many translations of European classics like the *Illiad,* the *Odyssey,* the *Divine Comedy,* and *Faust* have been published, and that every one of these translations is appreciated by the public. It is a common experience to find several translations of, say, *Faust* on the shelf of a European scholar.

In view of all that has been written above, we are glad to have a new translation of *Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid* and *Bandagi Namah* by Mr. Hadi

Hussain. As remarked above, both these poems are included in *Zabur-i-Ajam*. We have already a translation of these poems in prose by Mr. B.A. Dar, to which a reference has already been made. In spite of these translations every student of Iqbal will be glad to read Mr. Hadi Hussain's translations which reflect in a remarkable degree the beauty and freshness of the original poems.

The *Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid* was composed by Iqbal in response to Sadrud-Din Mahmud Shabistari's *Gulshan-i-Raz*. As remarked by Professor E.G. Browne, *Gulshan-i-Raz* "was composed, as the poet himself informs us, in the month of Shawwal 710 (February March 1311) in reply to a series of fifteen questions on mystical doctrine propounded by an enquirer from Khorasan named Amir Husayni."[1] It is said that originally, the *Gulshan-i-Raz* contained seventeen questions, but today only fifteen are available Iqbal's poem has nine questions; he has left out some of the questions contained in Shabistari's poem, and in some cases has included two questions in one. The present translation by Mr. Hadi Hussain is in verse and does full justice to the original. The following extracts from Question Four and Answer are given by way of illustration—the original and the translation:

سوال نمبر (۴)

قدیم و محدث از هم چوں جدا شد — که این عالم شد آں دیگر خدا شد
اگر معروف و عارف ذات پاک است — چه سودا در سر این مشت خاک است

جواب

خودی را زندگی ایجاد غیر است — فراق عارف و معروف خیر است
قدیم و محدث ما از شمار است — شمار ما طلسم روزگار است
دمادم دوش و فردا می شماریم — به هست و بود و باشد کار داریم
ازو خود را بریدن فطرت ماست — تپیدن نارسیدن فطرت ماست
نه ما را در فراق او عیارے — نه او را بے وصال ما قرارے
نه او بے ما نه ما بے او چه حال است — فراق ما فراق اندر وصال است
به بحرش گم شدن انجام ما نیست — اگر او را تو در گیری فنا نیست
خودی اندر خودی گنجد محال است — خودی را عین خود بودن کمال است

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1. E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, Vol. III–p. 147.

QUESTION FOUR

How did the Eternal and the Temporal
Become two things from one,
Dividing all,
The one becoming God,
The other world?
If God is both the knower and the known,
What is this madness curled
Up in the head of man, this mortal cold?

ANSWER

The Ego's *raison d'etre* is to create
The Other and therefore
It's good that known and know'r
Are not one, but are separate.
The Eternal and the Temporal
Exist because we calculate
And count and measure all;
It is by doing so that we create
The make-believe of Time. We count
Our yesterdays and our tomorrows, and are wont
To think in terms of "is" and "was"
And "may be"; and our nature has
A tendency to drift away
From the Eternal One,
And then, unable to attain again
To Him, pine night and day.
Without him we are lost;
Without us He can never rest.
Without each other we could never be:
Our separation is duality in unity.

....

To be lost in His sea is not our destiny;
And if you span it, you can never cease to be.
That self should be sub-merged in self is an impossibility:
To be the essence of selfhood is the self's apogee.

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1. Homer, *The Odyssey* (translated by Robert Frtyzert), Heinemann, London, 1962.

It will be seen that the translation is excellent and can be compared in beauty of language with Whinfield's translation of Shabistaris's poem.

In Question Seven the poet asks: who is Perfect Man?

کرا گویم که او مرد تمام است

(Whom can I designate the Perfect Man)

And answers as below:

کمال زندگی دیدار ذات است   طریقش رستن از بند جهات است
چنان با ذات حق خلوت گزینی   ترا او بیند و او را تو بینی
منور شو ز نور من یرانی   مژه برهم مزن تا خود نمانی
بخود محکم گذر اندر حضورش   مشو ناپید اندر بحر نورش
نصیب ذره کن آن اضطرابے   که تابد در حریم آفتابی
چنان در جلوه‌گاه یار می سوز   عیان خود را نهان او را برافروز
کسے کو دید عالم را امام است   من و تو ناتمام و او تمام است

Life's acme of perfection is to see
The Essence, to achieve which end it bursts
All bounds of Time and Space. You should enjoy
The privacy of the Divine Self so
That he sees you and you see Him. Become
Illuminated by the light of "what
You see." But never wink your eye lest you
Should cease to be, and keep a firm
Grip on yourself lest you are drowned in His
Light's sea. You are a mote, engender in
Yourself the restlessness to scintillate
In the Sun's neigbourhood. Burn brightly like
A flame in the Beloved's presence so
That you illumine yourself publicly
And him in your soul's privacy. One who
"Sees" is the world's appointed leader and
Is perfect while I and you are not so.

It will be seen that the translation reads like an original poem and is full of poetic imagery. The translation of the Introduction and all questions, except Question Seven, is in the form of the irregular ode, while that of Question Seven is in blank verse (iambic pentametre).

Bandagi Namah is translated in blank verse. The poem describes the arts, music and painting, and religion of slave nations and the architecture of free nations. Even when dealing with such abstruse subjects Iqbal rises to the heights of his poetic genius, and the learned translator has preserved in his translation all the beauty and grandeur of the original. For instance, in describing the Taj Mahal, Iqbal says:

یک نظر آں گوهر نابے نگر   تاج را در زیر مہتابے نگر
مرمرش ز آب رواں گردنده تر   یک دم آنجا از ابد پائنده تر
عشق مرداں سرّ خود را گفته است   سنگ را با نوک مژگاں سفته است

The above lines have been translated as below:—

Look for a moment at that precious gem,
The Taj agleam in the light of the moon,
Its marble rippling like a flowing stream,
Each ripple a wave of Eternity.
A man's love has expressed itself in it,
Stringing the stones together with the thread
Of his eyelashes as if they were pearls.

Now these two great poems can be read and enjoyed by many of those who could not read them in original.

(This article was originally written as Introduction to Mr. Hadi Hussain's Translation of Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid and Bandagi Namah. As it contains some useful advice to authors wanting to translate Iqbal, it is included here.)

XI

IQBAL AND PAKISTAN

Presiding at the annual Session of the Muslim League at Allahabad on December 30, 1930, Iqbal said:—

> India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in the country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory.[1]

In the same address he also said:—

> "I would like to see the Punjab, N.W. Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self Government within the British Empire, (after) the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State, appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."[2]

Referring to self-determination, Iqbal once wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam:

> Why should not the Muslims of North West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?[3]

In view of these clear and unequivocal statements demanding the division of the Sub-continent and creation of an autonomous Muslim State, it is surprising that some Hindu and Western propagandists of Akhand Hindustan have been carrying on ceaseless propaganda that Iqbal never wanted the division of the Sub-continent. Foremost amongst these writers are Sachindanda Sinha, Iqbal Singh, Edward Thomson and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. These are followed by a score of minor writers.

Before 1947 one could understand that the object of these propagandists was mainly to beguile the unwary Muslims that their great leader never wanted a division of the Sub-continent and would have been content merely with a few constitutional safeguards. But once Pakistan is achieved and has become a reality it is not easy to understand the object of these propagandists. They can have only one

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal p. 171.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 170-171.
3. Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah p. 24

object in distorting historical facts— a desire to lower the stature of the spiritual father of Pakistan.

In view of all this it is necessary to examine facts again so that we may not lose sight of the ideological basis of Pakistan. While those writers who have alleged that Iqbal did not want a division of the Sub-continent have relied for their arguments on a mis-interpretation of that great man's writings, generally quoted out of context, it was left to a British missionary, and Fellow of an Oxford College, to attempt the impossible task of trying to prove that Iqbal had told him that Pakistan was not good for the Muslims. The audacity of the man making such a statement staggers our imagination.

In 1932 Iqbal in his Presidential Address to the Annual Session of the Muslim Conference, held at Lahore, said:

> Politics have their roots in the spiritual life of man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, or, if you like, a civic church. It is because present-day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in Politics. I am opposed to materialism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity.
>
> Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition..
> In so far, then as the fundamentals are concerned, I have nothing fresh to offer. Regarding these I have already expressed my views in my address to the All-India Muslim League.[1]

Thus it will be seen that when Iqbal presided at the Annual Session of the Muslim Conference in 1932 he still wanted the division of the Sub-continent, which he expressed so clearly and emphatically in his address to the Annual Session of the Muslim League in 1930. After 1932, we have Iqbal's correspondence with the Quaid-i-Azam and his work for the achievement of Pakistan. This can leave no doubt as to his great contribution to the Muslim fight for freedom.

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, pp. 196-197.

Unfortunately it is very often forgotten that it was not merely in his role of a political seer and philosopher that Iqbal worked for the attainment of a free homeland for the Muslims, but he worked as an ordinary soldier under the command of the Quaid-i-Azam and all that he did in the fight is recorded in the pages of history.

Still since attempts have becn made by persons like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to belittle his great work it is necessary to re-state briefly his glorious contribution to the cause of Pakistan. We know that for years he was President of the Punjab Muslim League, in which capacity he always fought for the rights of the Muslims. When the Quaid-i-Azam returned to the Sub-continent and got busy in reorganizing the Muslim League, Iqbal was one of the first leading politicians to offer his services to the great leader. He was re-elected President of the Punjab Musim League in May, 1936. He was appointed a Member of the League Center Parliamentary Board and Chairman of the Punjab Parliamentary Board. In these capacities he worked very hard, and as a result during 1936. Iqbal and the Quaid-i-Azam had closer political contact.

On May 28, 1937, Iqbal wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam:—

> "After a long and careful study of the Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years, and I still beleive this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India.
>
> If such a thing is impossible in India, the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for sometime in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots".

On June 21, 1937, Iqbal again wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam:—

> "A separate federation of Muslim Provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims".

During his last years Iqbal worked tirelessly for the estabishment of Pakistan by counteracting Hindu propaganda, organisIng the

Muslims and convincing the reactionaries amongst them that the only solution of all their political, cultural, and economic difficulties lay in the division of the Sub-continent. As long as his health permitted he was travelling to and from Bhopal, Delhi and Simla to attend the meetings of the League and the Muslim Conference Committees.

When his health made any long journeys impossible he sent his devoted followers to attend these meetings at Lucknow and Calcutta. He worked for the League in every way possible at a time when the prospects before the League were gloomy. Single-handed, with a small band of dauntless followers, he defied influential persons like Sir Fazle Hussain and Sir Sikandar Hayat.

An account of his political work reads like an epic of courage and heroism. Faced by paucity of funds, and lack of workers at one stage, and opposed by the whole Government machinery, he brought about political awakening among his people and prepared them for the crisis that was to follow soon.

In a Foreword to Iqbal's letters, the Quaid-i-Azam wrote, in 1943, about Iqbal's part in the creation of Pakistan:—

> His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusion as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as enumerated in the Lahore Resolution of all India Muslim League, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution passed on 23rd March, 1940.[1]

It was a great achievement of Iqbal to convince the Founder of Pakistan that the only solution to the political ills of the Sub-continent lay in its division. Nor was this conviction unaccompanied by actual help at a time when the Quaid-i-Azam needed it most.

In view of the documentary evidence we posses it is sheer impertinence on the part of some writers to assert that Iqbal was not in favour of Pakistan. The object behind this baseless and unfounded assertion has been fully exposed by several writers. We will only recall here what the Quaid-i-Azam told his Secretary, Mr. Matloob Sayyed, after the Muslim League had passed the Pakistan Resolution:—

1. Letters of Iqbal, to Jinnah pp. 6-7.

Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did everything that he wanted us to do.[1]

While Iqbal must be regarded as the spiritual father of Pakistan and the epitome of Pakistani culture it must be admitted that he never used the name Pakistan. The credit for having suggested that name for the Muslim State, as envisaged by Iqbal, belongs to Choudhry Rahmat Ali and his fellow-workers. But it can be said that his name was really the only contribution of this group to the Pakistan Movement.

When Mountbatten, and those of his school, say today that it was a mistake to concede Pakistan they forget that Pakistan was not a present from the Hindus or the British handed over on a silver salver to the Muslims; it was attained by the Muslims after great sacrifices and hard struggle as a result of the inspiration provided by Iqbal under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Nor should we forget in this connection the great work done by Shah Waliullah, his successors and Syed Ahmed Khan. European and American writers are utterly mistaken in regarding the division of the Sub-continent as an act of secession. It was, in fact, the culmination of the process of integration of the Muslims of the Sub-continent initiated by Shah Waliullah and brought to a close by Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam.

The path to a free homeland for the Muslims was long and arduous, and the fight involved 'blood and sweat', but the leaders never had any doubts about the goal. As the Oxford History of India says:—

> Saiyyid Ahmad Khan gave Indian Islam a sense of separate existence; Iqbal a sense of separate destiny.[2]

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1. Hector Bolitho: Jinnah p. 129.
2. The Oxford History of India 1961, p. 80.

XII

IQBAL AND HIS CRITICS

All students of Iqbal are aware of his stupendous versatility and they try to grasp its true significance in order to gain an estimate of his greatness. But few appreciate the fact that this versatility, while it leads to a large increase in the number of writers on Iqbal, also increases the number of his critics, as each critic deals with a particular aspect of his multi-sided genius. This is all to the good, because after all criticism helps to add to our knowledge of a towering personality whose stature we are apt to misjudge otherwise. But this increase in the number of critics is likely to add to confusion if the critics disregard relevancy in their writings. To illustrate this we have only to mention that Iqbal was a great poet, a great philosopher, a leading politician and a religious reformer. Now a critic trying to discuss his politics consciously or unconsciouly refers to his poetry also. Those who do not like the stand Iqbal took in politics, start discussing his sublime poetry also from the same angle. Such writers add nothing to our knowledge, but add considerably to our confusion. It is obvious that a student of politics is not necessarily the most qualified person to write on his poetry. Christian missionaries writing on Iqbal's religious ideas refer by the way, to his poetry in which, sometimes, his religious ideas find expression. These writers may be entitled to their opinions in religious matters, and they may certainly criticise Iqbal from their angle, but when they drag in his poetry they are often guilty of a grave injustice. Their efforts to decry Iqbal and his art only mean that they are trying to stop a large number of Christian readers from enjoying a wealth of art very rarely met with even in the greatest poets of the world. It is obvious that an atmosphere surcharged with religious passions is not conducive to our appreciation of the poetic art of a transcedent genius. For a study of aesthetics one needs tools quite different to those required to approach a faith which, rightly or wrongly, is supposed to be a rival to one's own faith. We are glad that the number of critical writers on Iqbal is growing, but if their criticism is to serve any useful purpose it is imperative that our evaluation must be based on that aspect

of Iqbal with which the critic is competent to deal. Classfication of the critical literature on Iqbal is, therefore, necessay to facilitate the scholars to judge the significance of a particular criticism. Luckily for us in the case of Iqbal most of the criticism, if not all, can be ascribed to definite periods, and while these periods cannot be considered as rigidly water-tight, and in many a case they do overlap each other, yet their boundaries can be more or less distinctly recognised.

Iqbal started writing poetry while still a student in Sialkot, and even this poetry, while it lacked the charm of what was to come later on, attracted wide attention. And critics soon appeared who based their criticism mostly on some odd phrase or unusual idiom used by Iqbal. As we all know there were two schools of Urdu poetry; the Lucknow School and Delhi School; and these schools criticised each other's diction vehemently. Unfortunately both schools were unacquainted with the modern principles of literary criticism and their tirades against each other were mainly concerned with points of diction. Both these schools criticised Iqbal. There is no doubt that the language used by Iqbal was to some extent influenced by local usage, but perhaps the main reason for inciting the ire of both the schools was that although he got his early poems corrected by a master-poet like Dagh of Delhi School, he himself did not belong to either school. One of the items on which a good deal of criticism was based centred round gender. Gender in Urdu language is a ticklish matter and there exists a good deal of doubt about the gender of many articles. Even the recognised masters of the language do not always agree about the gender of many objects, and so when they want to criticise each other gender provides an easy target. And it was the same in the case of Iqbal.

As regards the two schools Iqbal once wrote:

اقبال لکھنو سے نہ دلی سے ھے غرض   ھم تو اسیر ھیں خم زلف کمال کے

Iqbal we are not concerned with Lucknow or Delhi. We are only enamoured of the curls of perfection.

This flood of criticism was so great that it would have dismayed an ordinary poet, but Iqbal was made of sterner stuff. His friends wrote replies pointing out the utter futility of the criticism, and out of these replies the one written by one 'Ambalvi' and published in the *Makhzan* was most effective. As regards criticism the one by "Tanqid-i-Hamdard", which was published in the *Makhzan*, was most pungent and broad-based, and Iqbal considered it as deserving of his reply. His reply was pub-

lished in the same journal, and displayed a wide knowledge of the rules of Urdu prosody. After this the storm of criticism, although it never died, subsided to a large extent.

From 1905 to 1908 Iqbal was in Europe and did not write much poetry and so criticism also shrank in volume. On return Iqbal wrote his epoch-making poems *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikwa* which extorted admiration even from the most hardened critics. Henceforth criticism was reduced to a mere minimum, and the year 1912 may be said to mark the end of the period of literary criticism.

In 1915 appeared Iqbal's masnavi *Asrar-i-Khudi* in Persian, which dealt with the philosophy of ego. This poem may be regarded as the starting point of the criticism of Iqbal's thought. In the first instance, Iqbal had translated Ego or Self as *Khudi*, but *Khudi* in Persian and Urdu languages meant pride and conceit. The result was that many readers misunderstood the title of the poem. Then Iqbal, while describing a healthy literary ideal, had made scathing remarks against Hafiz, describing him as a poet who advocated a life of ascetic inaction. Now Hafiz is one of the greatest lyric poets of the world, and rightly or wrongly he is also esteemed as a great Sufi. Whether he was actually a Sufi or not is a moot point, but nobody can deny his claim to be the greatest lyric poet of the Persian language. Anyway, many Sufis took Iqbal's lines on Hafiz as an attack on Sufism. The result was that many poets and writers made virulent and vulgar attacks on Iqbal in poetry and prose. Amongst those who attacked Iqbal in this connection Khwaja Hasan Nizami of Dargah Nizamuddin, Delhi and Khan Bahadur Muzaffar Ahmed Fazli, a retired Canal Deputy Collector of the Punjab, deserve special mention. Neither of these two critics was a great scholar and it is obvious that they did not understand the theme of *Asrar-i-Khudi* at all, yet their attacks appealed to the popular imagination. Khwaja Hasan Nizami was a forceful writer in Urdu prose and a very effective speaker. Draped in picturesque robes he travelled up and down the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, accompanied by his numerous disciples. He wrote a number of articles against *Asrar-i-Khudi* and Iqbal in high flown language. Iqbal replied to some of Hasan Nizami's attacks and exposed the hollowness of his tirades. But Iqbal's writings could be understood only by a few learned readers, while Nizami's writing influenced the men in the street.

Khan Bahadur Muzaffar Ahmed wrote a poem in Persian attacking Iqbal. This poem, known as *Asrar-i-Bekhudi*, was read by thousands of people all over the Sub-continent. The vicious and violent attacks on Iqbal contained in Khan Bahadur's poem remind us of Pope's satires. The following lines will give an idea of the tone of the poem:--

دشمن جان آمدند اسلام را رهزن جان آمدنه اسلام را
وائے بر ایں پختگان عقل خام اولیا را میش و بز کردند نام
از دم مکر شغالاں الحذر الحذر از بد سگالاں الحذر*

There were many other writers who attacked *Asrar-i-Khudi* and Iqbal's philosophy of ego, and the story has been beautifully told by Mr. Abdullah Quraishi in the pages of 'Iqbal', Lahore. At the same time there were several writers who wrote in appreciation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, the most notable of these being Dr. Abdur Rehman Bijnori and Hafiz Aslam Jairajpuri. The former wrote in English in the journal *East and West*, and the latter wrote in *Al-Nazir*, an Urdu journal of Lucknow. Iqbal appreciated the reviews of both these writers and even wrote a letter to Hafiz Aslam Jairajpuri thanking him for his appreciative review. But in spite of these sympathetic and appreciative reviews many writers wrote against the poem. The result was that in the second edition Iqbal had to drop those lines on Hafiz and in his introduction he wrote:—

> "I have omitted in this edition lines written on Hafiz. Although the purpose of writing those lines was merely to criticise a literary ideal and they did not reflect upon the personality of Khwaja Hafiz, but because they offended some of the readers, I have replaced them by new ones in which I have explained the rules according to which literature of a nation must be judged."

Anyway this period of criticism came to an end about 1920 or so, and while Iqbal's thought continud to be criticised even later on, as for example his aesthetics by Professor M.M.Sharif in 1950, it can be safely said that the main storm of adverse criticism of Iqbal's philosophy of ego had blown over by 1920. After that year people had studied Iqbal's

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* They are enemies of the very life of Islam,
They mean to rob Islam of life.
Woe to those afflicted with infirmity of intellect,
They have called saints goats and sheep.
Beware of the fraud of jackals
Beware of those addicted to evil ways!

philosophy better and wherever any criticism was made it was on the whole balanced and fair.

There was a strange development about this time. As the storm of adverse criticism of Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi*, as containing his philosophy of ego, was subsiding in the Sub-continent, the poem was translated into English by R.A. Nicholson of Cambridge. The translation was read widely in Europe, and many European readers began to see in it a call to tbe Eastern nations to rise against European Imperialism. The most notable of these was C.A. Nallino, the Italian Orientalist, who in clear terms warned the European nations against the writings of Iqbal (*vide* Oriente Moderno, Rome 1922-23 p. 191). Thus started a criticism of Iqbal for political reasons. Nallino remarked about *Asrar-i-Khudi* as " 'un grido di riscossa Musulmana contro l' Europa, una manifestazione delle piu ardenti aspirazioni dell' irredentismo Pan-Islamica." (A cry for Muslim awakening against Europe, a manifestation of the most ardent aspirations of Pan-Islamic irredentism.)

About 1926 or so an Indian writer K.P.S. Menon, a member of the Indian Civil Service, also wrote against *Asrar-i-Khudi* from the same angle While this criticism was going on, Iqbal entered active politics after his election to the Punjab Legislative Council in 1926. After hearing and reading his speeches in the Council the Hindus and Sikhs began to criticise Iqbal vehemently for political reasons. Then in 1928 Iqbal gave evidence before the Simon Commission. And finally came Iqbal's address as the President of the Muslim League in which he said; "The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is therefore, perfectly justified."

So far as the Hindu politicians were concerned this speech acted as a red rag to the bull. Now the Hindu politicians as well as the Press attacked Iqbal mainly because he advocated cultural and political safeguards for a minority of 100 million living in the Sub-continent.

As time marched on Iqbal began taking a more prominent part in politics. He attended the Second and Third Round Table Conferences. He presided over the All-India Muslim Conference in 1932. He was elected President of the Punjab Muslim League and was appointed Chairman of the Punjab Parliamentary Board by the Quaid-i-Azam in 1936. The Hindu politicians now began seeing in Iqbal one of the

main obstacles to thier attempts to dominate and crush the minorities of the Sub-continent, and consequently their opposition to Iqbal gained in vehemence. Thus the period in which political critics of Iqbal flourished lasted from 1926 to 1938, but it can be said to have actually started in 1920. During this period Hindu writers wrote numerous articles decrying Iqbal's work in all fields. But the most notable of the writings of the group which attacked Iqbal was "*Iqbal: The Poet and his Message*", by a fanatic Mahasabhite. Dr. S. Sinha, and another book known as *Ardent Pilgrim* by a communist Iqbal Singh. Both of these writers thought that Iqbal's suggestion to divide the Sub-continent into two countries was a sacrilege which would lead to the eventual vivisection of Mother Bharat. Dr. Sinha's book was published in 1947 and Iqbal Singh's book was published in 1952.

Sinha was so angry with Iqbal for political reasons that he could see nothing right in him. According to Sinha, as a poet Iqbal was of a very mean order; as regards philosophy Sinha considered that Iqbal borrowed all his ideas from others and so on.

Iqbal Singh, on the other hand, criticised Iqbal for his political views, but paid rich tributes to his poetry. Recording the reasons which led him to write the book Iqbal Singh says: "And that is to record a personal enthusiasm for Iqbal's poetry – an enthusiasm which increases every time I return to it" (p. vi).

There are two Hindu politicians who, whenever they spoke or wrote of Iqbal, referred to him in glowing terms. They were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Now we come to the last group of Iqbal's critics and these deal with Iqbal's religious ideas. Iqbal delivered his lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* in Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh in in 1928, These were published in a poorly printed edition from Lahore in 1930. They attracted worldwide attention. A nicely printed edition was published by Oxford University Press in 1934. This was a new approach to Islam and a challenge to the West. In one of the lectures Iqbal said: "The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interest of the rich. Believe me, Europe today is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement."

As regards Christianity itself, Iqbal says: "It is the sharp opposition between the subject and the object, the mathematical without and the biological within that impressed Christianity. Islam however, faces the opposition with a view to overcome it. This essential difference in looking at a fundamental difference determines the respective attitudes of these great religions towards the problem of human life in its present surroundings." In these and similar remarks Christian missionaries and writers detected a real danger to their missionary activities. They planned an offensive against Iqbal and began attacking him in every way possible. The first Christian writer who attacked Iqbal was Cantwell Smith.

Cantwell Smith is supposed to be an Orientalist, but is actually a fanatic Christian who has merely changed his methods to adjust to the modern age. He attacks Islam in a very subtle way and one of his favourite ways of doing this is to attack Iqbal. It is obvious from his writings that he has not studied Iqbal. When he first came to see the present writer he did not know any Urdu, but he had already written copiously on Iqbal! Such are the ways of Christian Orientalists! In view of these facts it is not surprising to find this Christian author making such remarks about Iqbal: "He was poet, not a systematic thinker; and he did not hesitate to contradict himself."

Then very patronisingly he says:

"We ourselves, in the treatment of Iqbal which here follows, have not made any undue effort to unify the contradictions of his prolific utterances."

In a fit of self-esteem Smith says about Iqbal: "He was not an economist, a sociologist, a politician, nor as we have said, an ethicist."

To judge the ignorance of Smith we have only to refer to the following remarks:

"During the First World War he was strognly pro-Islamic and pro-Turkish, and wrote some bitter verses against the enemy, *i.e.*, Britain. Later he was an ardent Khilafatist; some of his most passionate utterances belong to this period."[1]

Anybody, acquainted with the history of the Khilafat movement in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, knows that in spite of the efforts of persons like Maulana Mohammed Ali, Iqbal kept aloof from the Khilafat movement. As regards ardent poems, his most ardent poems in

1. Cantwell Smith: *Modern Islam in India*, p. 125.

Urdu are *Shikwa, Jawab-i-Shikwa, Tulu-i-Islam* and *Khizr-i-Rah.* The years in which these poems were written are given below:—

Shikwa	...	...	... *1911*
Jawab-i-Shikwa	...	...	... *1913*
Khizr-i-Rah	...	...	... *1922*
Tulu-i-Islam	...	...	... *1923*

During the First World War Iqbal only published his famous *Asrar-i-Khudi.* It should be obvious that it is hardly necessary to deal with the utterances of a man so ill-informed and ignorant. In spite of his colossal ignorance and strong prejudices, Smith makes some honest remarks here and there, as for instance when he says:

"Iqbal had a vision of an ideal society, worth striving for .... There would be in it no aggressive wars, no colour or race or class or national distinctions, no beggars or unemployed. It would be permeated by the spirit of brotherhood, social services and a spiritual warmth."

A student of Iqbal will be astonisehd to read Smith's following remarks:—

"Iqbal's mind was simply incapable, apparently, of dealing with men in community."

Evidently Smith has not read *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* !

فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است　　جوهر او را کمال از ملت است

"Relationship with community is a source of strength to an individual whose latent capacities are thereby actualised."

To our great surprise Smith says:—

"Theologically, although Iqbal was no theologian, he wrought the most important and the most necessary revolution of modern times. For he made God immanent, not transcendent." And this! in spite of all that Iqbal wrote against *Wahdat-ul-Wajud.* It shows how learned are the Christian Orientalists like C. Smith!

It is unnecessary to deal with other baseless remarks made by Smith in his book *Modern Islam in India*, because in his latter book *Islam in Modern History** he has himself remarked that the book was written when he was young and immature. In this book, Smith says about his earlier book: "This youthful work has many defects; among them,

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*Cantwell Smith: *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p. 210.

those of which the writer is most conscious—chiefly the inadequate understanding of Islam and also of the crucial role played in history by ideological and moral factors—are corrected as far as possible in the present study." So we shall refer to some of the remarks in his latter work. In this book Smith says:

"Yet Iqbal is so contradictory and unsystematic that it is difficult to assess him. He is the Sufi who attacked Sufism, and perhaps the liberal who attacked liberalism." Ignorance could go no further!

Another Christian writer who attacked Iqbal was Sir Hamilton Gibb. But this must be said to the credit of this writer that he makes no attempt to conceal his motives for attacks on Iqbal. To that extent Gibb is more honest than Smith. He is quite frank in admitting that the basis of his criticism of Iqbal is essentially religious. He is honest enough to say: "In these days, when we are enveloped in an atmosphere charged with propaganda, it is the duty of every investigator to define precisely to himself and to his audience the principle which determines his point of view. Speaking in the first person, therefore, I make bold to say that the metaphor, in which Christian doctrine is traditionally enshined, satisfied me intellectually as expressing the highest range of spiritual truth which I can conceive."[1] On page IX of his book, while pointing out that most of the Muslim writers on Islam are apologetic, Gibb says: "The outstanding exception is the Indian scholar and poet, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, who in his six lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* faces outright the question of reformulating the basic ideas of Muslim theology" (p. X).[2] Later on in the same book Sir Hamilton Gibb says: "He aimed to reconstruct the established theology of Islam; but the theology which he attempts to restate is not, in fact, the Sufi theology". Further on he says: "Iqbal has tried to refashion Sufi thought in terms of Western humanism."

As if this fantastic attempt to belittle Iqbal's work was not enough the learned writer later on says: "Iqbal himself, by the contradictions and confusions in his thought, only accentuated the instability and inner conflict of ideas." The main charge that Gibb has brought against Iqbal is that he has mistranslated some Quranic verses. On p. 83 of his book he says: "Throughout the lectures he constantly appeals to Quranic verses in support of his argument. But we cannot help asking ourselves

1. Sir Hamilton Gibb: *Modevn Trends in Islam*, p. xi.
2. *Ibid*, p. x

two questions 'Do these quotations represent the whole teaching of the Quran on the point at issue' and 'Do they mean what Iqbal says they mean'? In one or two intances I suspect actual philological misinterpretations."

It is not enough to make wild charges. One would expect a scholar like Gibb to quote the verses of the Quran which he thinks Iqbal has mistranslated.[1]

After Sir Hamilton Gibb another Oxford man, Alfred Gaillaume, wrote on Iqbal in his book on Islam. Describing some of Iqbal's ideas that Paradise and Hell are states and not localities, Guillaume says, "It hardly needs saying that all this comes perilously near heresy inIslam."

The superficial knowledge of the author may be obvious from his remarks: "the reader can see that he (Iqbal) has left the Muslim with some principles based partly on texts which for generations have been interpreted in quite a different way, and partly on Christian thought in modern time." It is enough to point out that all that Guillaume has written covers Iqbal's religious thought only. It is safe to conclude that Guillaume has read very little of Iqbal's poetry. Perhaps Guillaume will consider even Einstein's Theory of Relativity as Christian thought.

After Guillaume we come to the American writer J.S. Badean, who is a Professor at the American University of Cairo. In his book *The Lords Between* he has written that according to Iqbal the Quran was given as a guide only for the period when modern science was unknown. Misrepresentation could go no further!

A remarkable Christian writer on Iqbal is Professor Schimmel of Bonn University whose book *Gabriel's Wing* has been recently published as a supplement to *Numen*, the organ of the Society of History of religions. It seems that the publication of the book has been subsidised by the Society at the instance of Rev. Dr. C. J. Bleeker, Secretary of the Society. The book is supposed to be a 'A' Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Mohammad Iqbal', but it tries to deal with almost every aspect of Iqbal. The book contains a comprehensive Bibliography of Iqbal, and it is evident that in spite of the help given by the Iqbal Academy of Karachi, the learned author must have taken great pains over its preparation.

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1. As soon as Gibb gets away from religious grounds for attacking Iqbal, he is not so unreasonable. His note on Iqbal in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is fairly balanced. The note deals with Iqbal's Poetry and Philosophy.

Schimmel has paid Iqbal a high compliment when she says: "Nobody will assert that he was a prophet, that would be both wrong from the point of view of history of religions and incompatible with the Islamic dogma of the finality of prophethood but we may admit that he has been touched by Gabriel's wing." In spite of this compliment Schimmel has made serious charges against Iqbal. We would prefer to repeat some of them in her own words.

On page VIII of her book she says: "Iqbal changed Western ideas according to his concept of Islam."

On page 242, referring to the Turkish writer Ziya Gokalp she says: "Iqbal did not know Turkish, has studied his (Ziya Gokalp's) work through the German translation of August Fisher, and it is of interest to see how he (Iqbal) sometimes changes or omits some words of the translation when reproducing the verses in the Lecture."

On page 585 the author says:

"Iqbal's interpretation of the Writ (The Holy Quran) is sometimes very personal and influenced by the wish of combining Quranic revelations with the experience of modern science."

On the same page the author says:

"His criticism of the West sometimes took forms worthy of medieval polemics."

Further on she says:

"The Christian reader will be shocked by the devaluation of nearly everything Christian and European in Iqbal's work, and by the lack of understanding of the ethical ideals of Christianity (the dogmatic differences are not of interest to Iqbal and are not discussed in his work). He should then realise that Iqbal in this respect does not talk with the calmness required of a historian of religion."

It will thus be noticed that this Christian writer by means of misstatements, wrong information and faulty translations has tried to create a wrong image of Iqbal amongst the Western readers. The object is obvious.

We can see that the Christian writers on Iqbal display wonderful homogeneity in their attacks on him. Their aim is to discredit him in the eyes of the Muslims as well as the Christians. To the Muslims they say that Iqbal has mistranslated Quran and misrepresented Islam; to the Christians they say that Iqbal is a fanatic Muslim.

It should not be inferred from these quotations that there are no Christian writers who have paid real homage to Iqbal and his genius. We have only to refer to Browne, Nicholson, and many others. It is well known that Browne, the illustrious author of *The Literary History of Persia*, did not have a high opinion about those poets of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent who wrote in the Persian language. But he always treated Iqbal as one of the exceptions.

Nicholson introduced Iqbal to the West by translating *Asrar-i-Khudi* in English. In his introduction to the translation he pays homage to the profound genius of Iqbal in these words: "Every one, I suppose, will acknowledge that the substance of the *Asrar-i-Khudi* is striking enough to command attention. In the poem, naturally, this philosophy presents itself under a different aspect. Its audacity of thought and phrase is less apparent, its logical brilliancy dissolves in the glow of feeling and imagination and it wins the heart before taking possession of the mind. Many passages of the original are poetry of the kind that once read is not easily forgotten."

Professor Arberry of Cambridge has translated the *rubais* of *Payma-i-Mashriq*, portions of *Zabur-i-Ajam*, and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* and has translated *Javid Namah* in English verses. In a message to Iqbal Society, Karachi, Arberry once wrote: "Iqbal's doctrine of the indestructible significance of the individual contains a message of hope and inspiration in these days when the rights and duties of individual men are so gravely threatened by materialistic conceptions of an all-powerful state. His doctrine of the place of the individual in society, with his interpretation of the term society to mean the whole community of right believing men and women, is no less important as a corrective to nihilist tendencies in contemporary thought. His message is of universal appeal and application." The great French Orientalist, Massignon did not write much on Iqbal, but has paid highest tributes to him in his masterly introduction to the French translation of *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* by Madam Meyerovitch.

The American author, Northrop has not written much on Iqbal, but has made frequent references to him in his books on philosophy.

The Italian Orientalist Bausani has translated Iqbal's *Javid Namah* and other poems in Italian and has written on his poetry copiously. His tanslations are very good, but his criticism is not always well-informed.

The French Scholar Madam Meyerovitch has translated several of Iqbal's books in French and is a great admirer of Iqbal.

A reference must be made to the excellent review of Iqbal's *The Reconstrucion of Religious Thought* by Dr. Sprengling, in *The Christiandom* of Chicago, in 1936. Dr. Sprengiling considered Iqbal in a class with the greatest Western philosophers.

John Marek of Prague University has translated some of Iqbal's poems in the *Czech* language and has, at places, criticised Iqbal, but his criticism is generally based on political gounds.

Reference must be made to two German writers who paid their homage to Iqbal's genius by translating some of his poems. They are Otto Von Glasenapp, a former Vice President of the German State Bank and Professor Hell of Erlangen University. All lovers of Iqbal owe these scholars a debt of gratitude for being the first to introduce Iqbal to Germany. Similar claims on behalf of some young German authors are unfounded and baseless. Here mention must also be made of the numerous Turkish, Persian, Afghan and Arab writers on Iqbal *e.g*,, Ganjeli, Tarlan, Mujtaba Manavi, Salahuddin Seljuqi and Abdul Wahab Azzam and others. Their criticism is, on the whole, balanced and well informed.

It will be thus seen that whilst Iqbal's art and thought are still appreciated all over the world, some Christian writers seem to discover in his works a challenge to their missionary work and so they have started a regular and sustained compaign to misrepresent him. Iqbal once foretold the reason for this:

ازان نمرود با من سرگران است   به تعمیر حرم کوشیده ام من

"Nimrod is aggrieved with me because I have ventured to raise the House of God!"

XIII

IQBAL AND AFGHANISTAN

Owing to its geographical position in the heart of Asia, and the traits of its brave and sturdy people Afghanistan exercised a strange fascination over Iqbal. He always thought that its intelligent, quick-witted, and hardy people, when equipped with proper education, are destined to play a leading role in the affairs of the world. He has expressed his feelings of appreciation for this land of charm and grandeur, and admiration for these brave, self-respecting people in his numerous writings, prose as well as poetry. It seems that the physical characteristics of the country and the courageous way in which its people fought there with nature served to encourage production of the very type of men that Iqbal wanted to see. Concerning the great importance of the country in Asia, Iqbal makes Abdali, the founder of the Afghan nation, say :

آسیا یک پیکر آب و گل است　　ملت افغاں دراں پیکر دل است
از فساد او فساد آسیا　　در کشاد او کشاد آسیا
تا دل آزاد است آزاد است تن　　ورنہ کاہے در رہ باد است تن
ہمچو تن پابند آئین است دل　　مردہ از کیں زندہ از دین است دل

A world of clay and water
Is Asia with the Afghans as her heart ;
Their weal, their woe, is Asia's weal and woe;
So long as the heart is free, the flesh is free,
Or else it is a straw placed in wind's path.
The heart too has its law quite like the flesh,
For hatred deadens it while faith restores.

With prophetic vision Iqbal calls Afghanistan the heart of Asia — the source of all vital impulses.

In an interesting foreword to a book about Afghanistan he stresses the greatness of the Afghan nation which has in the past produced some greatest men of the world, and he points out the role that Afghanistan is bound to play in the future history of Asia in particular, and of the world in general. Pointing out that the history of Afghanistan is not properly appreciatcd Iqbal says : "The history of Afghanistan has yet

to be read and appreciated. Mere record of events is not history, it is only material for history. Events are like words and have meanings which it is the duty of the genuine historian to discover. This work has yet to be done in regard to the history of the Afghans both in India and Afghanistan. A people who have produced such men as Muhammad Ghauri, Alauddin Khilji, Sher Shah Suri, Ahmad Shah Abdali, Amir Abdul Rehman Khan, King Nadir Shah, and, above all, Maulana Syed Iamaluddin Afghani, in many respects the greatest Muslim and certainly one of the greatest Asiatics of our time — cannot but be regarded as an important factor in the life of Asia."

In these few words Iqbal has not only described the history of the Afghans in a nutshell but has also paid homage to these great people whose contribution to human greatness is enshrined in the pages of history. With such a clear appreciation of their history it is not surprising that Iqbal refers again and again to the great qualities of these people, and at times does not hesitate to give them such advice as will restore to them their former greatness and give them their right place in the comity of nations. When in 1923 was published **Payam-i-Mashriq**— that collection of poems written in response to Goethc's **West Ostlicher Divan**—in the prefatory verses he described the sad interlude in the Afghan history when circumstances forced these go-ahead people to a backward place amongst the nations of the world in the following verses :—

ملت آوارهٔ کوه و دمن — در رگ او خون شیران موجزن
زیرک و روئین تن و روشن جبین — چشم او چون جره بازان تیز بین
قسمت خود از جهان نایافته — کوکب تقدیر او ناتافته
در قهستان خلوتے ورزیدهٔ — رستخیز زندگی نادیدهٔ
جان تو بر محنت پیهم صبور — کوش در تهذیب افغان غیور
تا ز صدیقان این امت شوی — بهر دین سرمایهٔ قوت شوی

A nation roaming amongst mountains and dales,
Tiger's blood coursing in its veins;
Clever, steel framed, and bright faced,
Eyes far-sighted like the eyes of brave eagles.
Without wresting its share from the world,
The star of its destiny not yet shining,
Has taken shelter amongst the mountains,
Has not yet experienced the commotion of life.

Addressing the King Amanullah he says :—

> Your life is dedicated to ceaseless hard work,
> Try to discipline the self-respecting Afghans
> That thay may become truth-lovers of faith,
> And a tower of strength for Islam.

When there was trouble in Afghanistan which brought the notorious Bacha Saqa to power Iqbal, like other Muslims of the Sub-continent, was very unhappy but quite helpless to do anything. After all when the late King Nadir Shah, with his usual courage, determination, and enterprise, decided to proceed to that unhappy country, torn with strife and dissensions, in order to restore peace and order he passed through Lahore, Iqbal went to the Railway Station to meet him. After some raillery Iqbal took the late King aside and offered him a sum of Rs. 10,000/-/-, all his life's savings, to help him in meeting the expenses of his great enterprise. The lion-hearted king refused to accept this sum, but when Iqbal persisted in his offer a compromise was struck: Iqbal was to keep the money for the time being and the king would send for it when he needed it. Imagine a poor man offering all his life's savings to a man whom he had never met before for restoring order in a country which he had never seen. Luckily King Nadir Shah never needed the amount, for even without it he succeeded in restoring order in the country with the help of his brave and devoted brothers. When order was restored King Nadir Shah proceeded with his statesmanlike reforms, and one of the first measures he adopted for the political and economic amelioration of his people was the introduction of educational reforms. For this purpose he invited a delegation from the Sub-continent consisting of such eminent educationists as Iqbal, Sir Ross Masud and Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi. What the late king and Iqbal talked and discussed in their meetings will never be known, but the respect and esteem that Iqbal had for the king, the hopes that he had from him and after him from his young successor, and the love he had for the country, have found expression in a small poem *Musafir*, that Iqbal composed about this journey. Every word of this beautiful poem reflects the intense love that Iqbal had for Afghanistan and its resourceful and plucky people. Referring to the late king Iqbal says :

نادر افغاں شہ درویش خو   رحمت حق بر روان پاک او
کار ملت محکم از تدبیر او   حافظ دین مبیں شمشیر او
چوں ابوذر خود گداز اندر نماز   ضربتش ہنگام کیں خارا گداز

عہد صدیق از جمالش تازہ شد   عہد فاروق از جلالش تازہ شد

Nadir the Afghan, a king with the habits of a Faqir,
May God shower blessings on his pious soul,
The *Millat* gained strength from his statesmanship;
His sword was there to guard the glorious religion.
Like Abuzar self-consuming in prayers,
His strokes in times of war shattered rocks,
His beneficence revived the glories of Abu Bakr,
His grandeur revived the days of Omar.

It will be seen that Iqbal has compared the late King to Abu Bakr, Omar and Abuzar. No greater tribute could be paid to any monarch.

When Iqbal attended Babar's mausoleum in Kabul he burst forth in a touching verse which will be appreciated by all freedom-loving people of the world.

ہزار مرتبہ کابل نکوتر از دلی است   کہ آن عجوزہ عروس ہزار داماد است

Kabul is a thousand times better than Delhi
For that hag belongs to a thousand bridegrooms.

But perhaps the most touching scene was when Iqbal visited the grave of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the founder of the Afghan nation and the hero of the famous Battle of Panipat. Nadir Shah thinking of his country's future bade Iqbal to tender advice to the young monarch, His Majesty King Zahir Shah, who represented the future hopes and ambitions of these great people.

بندۂ مومن سرافیلی کند   بانگ او ہر کہنہ را برہم زند
اے ترا حق داد جان ناشکیب   تو ز سرّ ملک و دین داری نصیب
فاش گو با پور نادر فاش گوئے   باطن خود را بہ ظاہر فاش گوئے

A *momin* raises the dead to life,
His utterances pull down the old and decrepit.
O, to whom God gave a restless oul
You understand the secret of country and faith,
Speak explicitly to the son of Nadir,
What is in you utter frankly to Zahir.

Under the behest of this mighty warrior, the story of whose victories forms a glorious chapter unparalleled in the chequered history of this Sub-continent, Iqbal utters a few words of advice to His Majesty Zahir Shah in the following lines :-

اے قبائے پادشاهی بر تو راست   سایهٔ تو خاک ما را کیمیاست
اے نگاه تو ز شاهین تیزتر   گرد این ملک خدا دادے نگر
ذکر و فکر نادری در خون تست   قاهری با دلبری در خون تست
از تب و تابم نصیب خود بگیر   بعد ازین ناید چو من مرد فقیر
چون پدر اهل هنر را دوست دار   بندهٔ صاحب نظر را دوست دار
صد جهان باقی است در قرآن هنوز   اندر آیاتش یکے خود را بسوز
برگ و ساز ما کتاب و حکمت است   این دو قوت اعتبار ملت است
باز افغان را ازان سوزے بده   عصر او را صبح نوروزے بده

O on whom robes of kingship fit so well,
Your shadow is alchemy for our dust.
O whose sight is more piercing than that of a falcon,
Guard the soil of this God-given realm.
Narration and contemplation of Nadir are in your blood,
Grace and grandeur go together in your blood.
Take thy share from my ardency and fervour,
After me no wise man may come.
Like your father keep men of learning as friends,
Keep men with vision as companions.
There are a hundred worlds concealed in the Quran
So go deep awhile into its verses.
Our equipment consists of naught but the Book & learning,
These two constitute the strength of our community.
From that fire and ardour give freely to the Afghans,
Give these days the splendour of spring-time.

The above lines may well be termed a testament for kings; every word reverberates with transparent sincerity and deep affection. It is obvious that these lines could have come only from a man who loved Afghanistan. For us Pakistanis Iqbal represents the summit of our culture and in all that he has said he represents the sentiments, feelings, and aspirations of every Pakistani; the feelings expressed by him in the above verses find an echo in every Pakistani heart. With a common history of over a thousand years and the deep-rooted bonds of religion, culture, and common history it can be confidently hoped that, come what may, the two nations, bound together by indissoluble ties, will face the future together. They have a common destiny. It is on the basis of common religion and culture that we stand together.

Sleeping under the lovely *lapis lazuli* tombstone sent by King Zahir Shah's Government, Iqbal is even today proclaiming :

نہ افغانیم و نے ترک و تتاریم چمن زادیم واز یک شاخساریم
تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است کہ ما پروردۂ یک نوبہاریم

Not Afghans, Turks or sons of Tartary,
Born in a garden, and from one branch are we;
Shun the criterion of scent and hue—
We all the nurslings of one spring-time be.

No doubt Afghanistan paid homage to Iqbal, by sending the lovely tombstone, but by cementing the bonds of affection and brotherhood the two countries will be paying greater homage to one who so fervently preached the dignity of man and the brotherhood of mankind.

XIV

IQBAL—THE ARCHITECT OF PAKISTAN

Iqbal is generally known as a great poet, but when we actually scan his career the versatility of his genius simply staggers our imagination. He was not only a great poet—one of the greatest the world has known, but also a great philosopher who had also studied both Eastern and Western philosophy. He pointed out defects in the philosophical systems of such thinkers as Nietzsche, Bergson and Mactaggart. He was a religious reformer who can be classed with such emnient reformers as Jamaluddin Afghani and Mohammad Aduh of Egypt. He was an active politician who fought courageously not only against the ruling power and the majority community but also against reactionary politicians amongst his own people. As an educationist he taught Arabic, English literatures, and philosophy in Lahore, and Arabic in London. Moreover education always continued to interest him. It will be obvious that it is not easy to survey the career of such a genius in the course of a brief sketch. He can be regarded as one of those natural forces that shape the destiny of mankind. He realized the fundamental truth that man's personality can endure and develop only in an atmosphere of freedom, and it was in preaching this fundamental truism that his greatness lay.

Iqbal was born at Sialkot in the Punjab on 9th November, 1877. He finished his early education in Sialkot, and migrated to Lahore in 1895 for higher studies. In Sialkot he was lucky to have as his teacher Shamsul Ulema Mir Hasan, a great scholar, who recognising Iqbal's capabilities encouraged him in every possible way. At Lahore Iqbal joined the Government College and came under the influence of Sir Thomas Arnold, a great Orientalist and a profound student of philosophy. Iqbal obtained his degree of M.A. in 1899 and joined the staff of Oriental College Lahore as Mcleod Reader in Arabic As advised by Sir Thomas Arnold, Iqbal left for England for higher studies in 1905. He joined Trinity College, Cambridge, as an advanced student in the same year and obtained his degree of B.A in 1907 by submitting a thesis. He obtained degree of Ph. D., from Munich University in 1908 by submitting a thesis on *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia.* Meanwhile he had enrolled himself as a member of Lincoln's

Inn, and passed the final examination in April, 1907, and was called to the Bar in July, 1903. He returned to Lahore, the same month. He got himself enrolled as an advocate of the Punjab Lahore High court, and began practising law in Lahore, but was also appointed after some time as a part-time Professor in his old college, the Government College. For some time Iqbal continued practising law and teaching in the Government College, Lahore, but later on he decided to stick to law and so resigned his post in the Government College.

Apart from writing great poems his career was uneventful at this time. But he continued taking interest in local politics of his province. In 1926 he decided to stand for the local Parliament—the Punjab Legislative Council—and was elected by an over-whelming majority. He continued to be a member of the Legislative Council until 1930. But he decided not to stand for re-election to this body. In 1930 he was elected President of the Musim League held in Allahabad, and it was during his presidential address that he made a definite proposal for the creation of Pakistan. During the course of this address he said:

> "Man, says Renan, is enslaved neither by his race nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically remaking men and furnishing them with fresh emotional equipment.
>
> It might have been a fact in India if the teachings of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste-units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole.
>
> Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the people of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many.
>
> True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence

of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognise facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the Middle and West of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual good-will to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as caste or a tribe. Perhaps we are unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the cause of our failure, I still feel hopeful."

In 1931 and 1932 Iqbal attended the Second and Third Round Table conferences, which were called by the British Government in London to frame a consititution for the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. In 1932 he was called to preside over the deliberations of the Muslim Conference held in Lahore. During the course of his Presidential Address Iqbal said:—

"I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to humanity. Patriotism is a perfectly national virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical conditions."

During all this time Iqbal continued to earn his living by practising as a lawyer. He did not command an extensive practice, but was always respected for the profoundness of his legal knowledge by the public and the profession. But his health deteriorated and in 1935 he suffered from loss of voice, and so had to give up the profession of law. But he continued writing poetry and exercising a guiding influence over the Muslim politics in the Sub-continent. In the midst of confusion and uncertainty that characterised the Muslim politics at this time he stood firm like a rock, and continued to help Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah by presiding over the Punjab Muslim League till his death.

Iqbal developed kidney trouble in 1924. He wanted to proceed to Vienna for its treatment, but he was advised to consult a famous physician in Delhi, known as Hakim Nabina. Hakim Nabina's treatment cured Iqbal of his trouble. After this he continued to keep good health till 1934, when he had some heart trouble resulting in the loss of voice. His illness took a serious turn on 25th March, 1938 and in spite of the best medical treatment and careful nursing he breathed his last in the early hours of 21st April, 1938.

Although his illness was long and protracted the end was sudden and peaceful. On his death bed Iqbal presented a picture of peace and composure. It seemed as if he was just resting after finishing his life's work. There was a faint smile playing on his lips and looking at him one was irresistably reminded of his well-known verse:—

"I tell you the sign of a Momin,
When death comes there is a smile on his lips.

He was given a funeral which kings might envy and he was buried near the gate of the historic Shahi Mosque in Lahore, late in the evening.

Iqbal started writing poetry while still a student in Sialkot. His teacher Maulana Meer Hasan encouraged him in this. About this time Dagh was supposed to be an acknowledged Master of Urdu poetry, and Iqbal started sending his poems to him for corrections. After a short time Dagh wrote back that Iqbal's poems did not need any corrections. When Iqbal moved to Lahore he found the atmosphere there very congenial for his poetical compositions; gatherings in which poets recited their compositions were held regularly, and Iqbal visited some of these especially in Bazar-i-Hakiman. Sir Abdul Qadir, a well known literary figure of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent came in contact

with Iqbal and encouraged him to write poetry for the well-known journal he was editing—*Makhzan*.

In 1905 Iqbal went to England and while there he did not get much time to write poetry as he was very busy with his studies. On return to Lahore he wrote some great poems notably *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikwa*. But the great event was the publication of his poem *Asrar-i-Bekhudi* in Persian in 1915.

This was followed by Rumuz-i-Bekhudi in 1918. Then came Payam-i-Mashriq in 1923. This is a collection of miscellaneous verses written in reply to Goethe's *Diwan*. In 1924 he published a collection of his Urdu poems known as *Bang-i-Dara*. This was followed two years later by *Zabur-i-Ajam* (Persian Psalms). The book contains mystic, vitalising and ennobling verses. *Zabur-i-Ajam* was followed by *Javid Namah* which can be regarded as Iqbal's *magnum Opus*. It is an Oriental Divine comedy, and in it Iqbal has dealt beautifully with the problems that face mankind. The poem ranks among the classics of the world. After finishing *Javid Namah* Iqbal turned to Urdu again and published *Bal-i-Jibril*, which is a collection of Urdu poems in 1935. This was followed by *Zarb-i-Kaleem* in 1936.

In 1934 he had published a Persian poem *Musafir* describing his journey to Kabul and Afghanistan. Another Persian poem *Pas Che Bayad Kard*, appeared in 1936. This brought a message of hope to countries and nations still under the domination of colonial powers. The final collection of his poems containing his Urdu as well as Persian poems and called *Armughan-i-Hijaz* appeared posthumously.

Iqbal has left us poetry in two languages, and was actually planning to write a prose poem in English when death snatched him away. There is no kind of poetry, except the Dramatic, that he did not write in Urdu and Persian. He wrote lyric, philosophic, epic, metaphysical, descriptive and satiric poetry. In each kind of poetry his work will stand comparison with that of the world's greatest. It is obvious that this wide range of poetry needs a varied sensibility, not met with even in the greatest poets of the world. And it is unnecessary to emphasise the difficulties which beset one trying to survey the art of such a versatile super-craftsman. It is not intended to survey critically his poetry here; all that will be attempted is an enumeration of the prominent characteristics of the main kinds of poetry left by him.

Iqbal started his poetical career by writing lyrical poetry in the form of *Ghazals*, and perhaps it is correct to say that his lyrics are today better known than any other kind of poetry written by him. Owing to the elementary human emotions with which it deals the appeal of lyric poetry is universal. The magical cadence and musical ecstasy of Iqbal's lyrics have made them universally popular. He turns our simple experiences of life into passionate experiences and communicates these in such moving and vivid imagery that it cannot fail to strike a sympathetic response in readers. With supreme artistry he sets free even the abstruse notions of philosophy and religion from their academic isolation and thus these ideas become a part of the common life of men. Two things are essential for a perfect lyric—original emotion of great intensity and depth and corresponding mastery over the language to give it a fitting utterance. Iqbal describes in his lyrics his own passionate experiences which are characterised by great intensity, and his command over language is superb. In fact he chooses those words and notes which serve to enlarge the melody and rhythm of his poetry. To illustrate this we can do no better than refer to some of his lyrics :-

" For once O awaited reality, reveal thyself in a form material,

For a thousand prostrations are quivering eagerly in my submissive brow.

Know the pleasure of tumult, thou art a tune consort with the ear,

What is that melody worth which hides itself in the silent chords of the harp.

My dark misdeeds found no refuge in the wide world,

The only refuge they found was in Thy benign forgiveness.

Even as I laid down my head in prostration a cry came from the ground :

Thy heart is enamoured of the Idol, what shalt thou gain by prayers?

Thou who didst make more ardent
My sighing and my tears,
O let my anthem quicken
Dust of a thousand, years.
What will thou of my heart, then,

Who with the wine of life
Excitest in the goblet
This passion and this strife?
And when my breath caressing,
Shall softly, sweetly blow,
The tulip newly glow.
O Master, guard the honour,
Of him who begs to thee,
He'll let no wine of others
Within his goblet be.
Soft my breath doth pass,
Soft as April airs,
Jasmine-sweet the grass,
Springeth from my tears;
Desert tulip glows
With the blood I shed.
As in beaker shows,
Wine all ruby red
Soareth so my flight
Over the highest sphere
That the souls of light,
Seek to trap me there.
Labours ever new
Make man's dust to glow;
Moon and star still do
As long time ago.
Come, O come to prayer,
Court no prince's door;
So our fathers were,
When the world was poor,

The days are ended
Of winter long,
The branches quiver
With living song,
The breeze in beauty
Arrays the rose,
As from the river
It gently blows,

Lest my heart's passion
May softer grow,
Not even to trusty,
I'll tell my woe.

There are two characteristics noticeable in all Iqbal's lyrics. The first is his mysticism and the second in his symbolism. Mysticism is the soul of Urdu and Persian poetry and adds greatly to its charm But we have to distinguish between two different currents in which mysticism developed in Islam. These can best be described as mysticism of infinity and mysticism of personality. The former is represented in the mysticism of Plotinus, in the mysticism of the *Upanashidas,* and in Sufism as the doctrine of *Wahdatul Wajud.* Here the *Numen* is the Being beyond all being, the Infinite, the time-and-spaceless, and is symbolised as the boundless ocean or desert in which human beings long to merge as drop in the sea, It is obvious that this type of mysticism seems to deny the reality of human personality on which Iqbal insists. But in the mysticism of personality the relation between man and God is seen as that of creator and creation, or of lover and beloved, and man's personality, although finite, is real. Man does not lose his individuality even after death.* It is this Mysticism of personality that we meet in early Sufism and in Iqbal. In preaching this healthy mysticism Iqbal portrays healthy sentiments which will interest healthy minds in all countries and ages. As an example of his mysticism we quote the following:-

" You are a limitless ocean and I am a tiny riverlet,
Either take me by your side or make me also limitless.
If I am the shell the honour of my pearl is in your hands,
If I am a pebble then make me a peare fit for kings.
Why had'st thou ordered me out of the Garden of Paradise,
There is lot to be done in this world, so now wait a while.

As regards symbolism examples will be noticed in the lines we have qouted so far. Iqbal defined symbolism as follows :-

" The charm of conversation is in not uttering naked truth,
Talk amongst confidants must be only through symbols and signs.

In another line he says :

What is the essence of philosophy and poetry?

Words of yearning which can not be uttered before the sweetheart.

While Iqbal has sung of all emotions in his lyrics, the theme of love is paramount. Great emphasis is laid on the part love plays in the development of human personality and character, and the term is used by him in a very wide sense.

Iqbal's poetic genius was so comprehensive that even in the field of lyric poetry he displayed great versatility. He could write poems whose perfection resides in their spontaniety. But he could also write poems whose perfection lies in their art. Yet again he could write poems in which both spontaniety and artistry seem to function harmoniously and at the same time intensely. This combination makes Iqbal one of the greatest lyric poets of the world. He ranks with Hafiz, Ghalib, Ronsard, Burns and Shelley.

Iqbal spent his childhood in Sialkot, a town along the foothills of the outer Himalayas. Amongst the beautiful surroundings he developed early a love of nature which inspired some great poetry throughout his life. And one of his early poems was on the Himalayas, which he had then seen only from a distance. His poems depicting natural sources remind us of the finest poetry of Wordsworth. Describing a pastoral scene he says :

Arrayed along both sides are verdant trees,
The clear water of the river reflecting the scene.
So entertaining is the scene of the hilly country
That water rises in ripples to view it.
Flowery boughs stoop towards the water,
Like a damsel seeing her beauty in a mirror.
When dew falls for the ablution of flowers,
Tears should suffice for my ablution, and wails for prayers.

Nature is always steeped in his personal feelings; for example when describing the advent of the spring he says :-

Arise for on hills and dales,
The spring has arrived;

Mad in singing are the nightingales;
Cuckoos, partridges and quails;
Along the bank of the brook
Have sprung the rose and tulip,
Come out and see.
Arise for on hills and dales,
The spring has arrived.

The description of the spring is not only enchanting, it also summarises Iqbal's message of life. Awake, arise and get busy There is no time to be wasted. When describing a scene along the Neckar in Hiedelberg (Germany) Iqbal emphasises the prevailing peace of the scene by saying that the magic of tranquillity has even turned the flow of river into peaceful gliding. When going through the lines we feel as if the spirit of tranquillity is enveloping us.

Light from the moon is tranquil,
Branches of every tree are still,
Nature has become unconscious,
Sleeping in the lap of the night.

In the beginning Iqbal was like Wordsworth a pantheist. Describing a natural scene he says :

Every object has a gleam of Eternal Beauty,
In man it is speech and in a bud it is bursting,
In multiplicity lies the secret of unity,
What is shine in a glow-worm is scent in a flower.

But later Iqbal's ideas underwent a considerable change. He began regarding each object as a distinct personality. Thus Iqbal's treatment of Nature in poetry has all the effectiveness and beauty of Wordsworth and yet shows wider sensibility and a more extensive range.

Iqbal wrote some very incisive satires which are characterised by smoothness of verse, lucidity of style, and urbanity of manner. The pride, pedantry, and stupidity of the religious leaders are assailed with invective and humour in the following lines :—

Religion has sunk lower than irreligiousness,
For the Mullah is busy branding people as irreligious,
The religion of the *kafir* consists in planning and earnest endeavour,
The religion of the ***Mulla*** is creating trouble in the name of God.

While admiring much in Western culture, Iqbal was never slow in pointing out its defects. Referring to un-employment and other social evils he says :

One might ask the sage from Europe,
Whose genius even Hind and Hellas admire.
Is this the goal of social progress,
Unemployment amongst men and sterility amongst women ?

As remarked above, Iqbal has left a large number of satires which are all free from harshness and vulgarity. All evil practices and vices in the name of religion shake Iqbal to his very soul, and it is generally then that he bursts out into satires. It may be said of all his satires that whereas Dryden makes his victims look ludicrous by associating them with heroes of epic grandeur and Pope reduces them to the level of worthless vermin, Iqbal like Byron simply depicts them as they are.

No study of Iqbal's poetry can be complete without a reference to his long poems, most of which come under the category known as *Mathnavis* in Urdu and Persian poetry. There are critics who maintain that a long poem is a contradiction in terms, because according to them poetry is essentially the language of excitement, and as excitement is always of brief duration there can be no such thing as a long poem ; while the force of this argument cannot be totally denied it must be said that this criticism of long poems is to a certain extent based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of poetry. While the universal appeal of short poems cannot be denied, it must be admitted that long poems by giving the poets an opportunity for sustained effort provide a truer test of his art. While it will be wrong to say that the excellence of a poem depends upon its length, it can safely be said that a long poem can be successfully composed only by a great poet. Amongst important *Mathnavis* of Iqbal may be mentioned :

Asrar-i-Khudi
Rumuz-i-Bekhudi
Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid
Javid Namah

The first two can be classified as metaphysical, and the third as philosophical. While *Javid Namah* is an epic poem. Many students of Iqbal have classified *Asrar* and *Rumuz* also as philosophical poems. There is actually no harm in treating all these poems as philosophical, but we have to bear in mind the strong prejudice against all which is supposed to be philosophic, although this prejudice is actually based on a misunderstanding. *Asrar-i-Khudi* was first published in 1915. It described fundamental principles affecting the development of human personality. The poem attracted world-wide attention after its translation in English by Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge. In his introduction to the translation Professor Nicholson remarks :

> "The artistic quality of the poem is remarkable when we consider that its language is not the author's own. I have tried to preserve as much of this as a literal translation would allow. Many passages of the original are poetry of the kind that once read, is not easily forgotten."[1]

Hailing the advent of perfect man, which is the object of Iqbal's philosophy, the poet says :—

"Appear, O rider of destiny,
Appear, O light of the dark realm of change,
Silence the noise of the nations,
Imparadise our ears with thy music ;
Arise and tune the harp of brotherhood,
Give a message of peace to them that seek battle ;
Mankind are the cornfield and thou the harvest,
Thou art the goal of life's caravan.

(Translation by Professor *R. A. Nicholson*)

In *Rumuz* Iqbal has described the basic principles on which the organisation of ideal human society should be based. An English translation of the poem by Professor A. J. Arberry, has been published.

1. Introduction to the Secrets of the Self. p. XXX

Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid deals with abstruse mystical problems; the poet sets himself nine questions, and then goes to give replies to them. In spite of the philosophical character of the poem poetical fluency is remarkable.

But amongst *mathnavis* Iqbal's *magnum Opus* is *Javid Namah.* As has been remarked above it is an Oriental Divine Comedy and in it Iqbal visits the various planets and even the Empyrean and trans-Heaven. In fact both Dante and Iqbal, through the allegory of a vision, attempted to depict the destiny of human soul. Recent researches have established it beyond all doubts that Dante was mainly indebted to Muslim sources for the original conception of his poem. Dante's poem is divided into three parts, each part dealing with Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso. In Paradiso Dante visited the seven spheres, the Heaven of Five Stars, Primum Mobile and the Empyrean Iqbal does not visit Inferno and Purgatorio, and instead of seven planets he visits only six. Then he does not visit the Fixed Stars and the Primum Mobile, but visits the Empyrean. It took Dante ten years to write the Divine Comedy which consists of 14,000 lines. It took Iqbal 3 years to write *Javid Namah* and the poem contains 4,000 lines. Thus it will be seen that Iqbal has worked on a smaller canvas than Dante. But both have produced great masterpieces which will continue to delight humanity for ages to come. Divine Comedy is the great epic of mediaeval catholicism as *Javid Namah* is an epic dealing with the order that Islam contemplates.

In *Javid Namah*, Iqbal accompanied by Rumi, who is to him what Virgil is to Dante, visits the planets and meets historical personalities who in their dialogues illustrate eternal truths. The poet first visits the Moon. Here Rumi introduces Iqbal to a Hindu sage known as Jehan Dost. Rumi tells Jehan Dost that for mankind the way to progress lies through the synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures ; unfortunately East has been concentrating on the spiritual and neglecting the material, while West has been concentrating on the material and neglecting the spiritual.

"The East saw God and failed to see the world of matter,

The West got embroiled in the world and neglected God.

From the Moon the poet, with his guide is transported to the sphere of Mercury. Here he meets Jamaluddin Afghani and Said Halim Pasha, the two persons who played an affective role in Eastern

affairs in the nineteenth century. Rumi tells the poet that the East has not produced greater persons than these two and introduces Iqbal as Zinda Rūd or the Living River, a name that the poet uses through the poem. While the poet describes the mistakes which Eastern nations, especially the Turks, the Persians and the Arabs are making in aping Western manners and methods without discrimination, Afghani explains Communism and Imperialism pointing out the defects of the two. Said Halim Pasha compares the East and the West and emphasises the fact that the salvation of mankind lies in the synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures :

In the West Intellect is the source of life,
In the East Love is the basis of life;
Through Love intellect grows acquainted with Reality,
And Intellect imparts stability to the work of Love.
Arise and lay the foundations of a new world,
By wedding Intellect to Love.

Later on Afghani elucidates the basis of the world order according to the Quran. In this order no distinctions of colour and race are recognised and the basis of culture is provided by respect for mankind and a study of Nature. The women here live simple lives and the vices of the modern world are unknown, and great importance is attached to the spiritual values of things. Afghani then exhorts the poet to communicate to the Russian people his message in which he compares Islam with Communism. While there is much in common between Islam and Communism, Islam suffers from the fact that its adherents do little more than lip service to its life-giving tenets and never try to apply in actual life its doctrines. On the other hand Communism is entangled in materialism and attaches no importance to spiritual values. If Communism recognises the spiritual basis of life and faith in God it will be rid of all its defects which are acting as a slag on the wheel of humanity's progress.

From Mercury the poets are transported to Venus where he visits the abode of ancient gods. These gods are happy that religion and faith are losing ground before the dark forces of materialism and irreligiousness.

From Venus the poets are taken to Mars where they meet an astronomer. Iqbal finds here that although the people living on Mars surpass the Western nations in the study of sciences and arts, the materialistic tendencies of modern Europe characterised by a loss of

faith in God, are not noticeable. The sage of Mars tells the poet that they had their Adam in Barkhiya whom their Satan, locally known as Farzmarz, tried to mislead, but Barkhiya through faith was able to resist the guiles of this Principle of Evil, and so the Almighty in His munificence bestowed on the people the world of Mars. The capital of Mars is Margadin and the poet describes in beautiful language this city. Here one finds no coinage, no machines, no demonstrations of militarism and no false propaganda. All labourers enjoy the fullest benefit of their labour and the glaring defects which characterise capitalism in our world are not known. Before leaving Mars the poet meet the virgin from Europe brought to Mars by Farzmarz to create confusion and trouble. This woman exhorts the women of the planet to defy men and not to submit to them either in the form of matrimony or otherwise.

The poet is then taken to Jupiter where he meets some very interesting personalities—the Indian poet Ghalib, the Persian poetess Tahira, and the mystic Mansur Hallaj : and while the poet is engaged in conversation with these Satan appears on the scene. While the poet's talks with all these persons are very interesting and significant, his discourse with Satan elucidates the principle of evil in the life of man. The description of Satan's character is attempted by the poet in several poems, but it is beautifully amplified in *Javid Namah.* He is an egotist, for instance when he takes credit for helping in the development of man by raising him from a position of servility to one of freedom. He complains to God about the weak nature of man, who falls such an easy prey to his guiles. He wants a strong adversary so as to be able to measure his strength His triumphs over man have made his life monotonous.

هیچ که از حکم من سر بر نتافت
چشم از خود بست و خود را در نیافت
اے خداوند صواب و ناصواب
من شدم از صحبت آدم خراب
فطرت او خام و عزم او ضعیف
تاب یک ضربم نیارد این حریف
لعبت آب و گل از من باز گیر
مے نیاید کودکی از مرد پیر

O Master of all—those in the right as well as those in the wrong ;
Association with mankind has debased me.
Man never fails to comply with my behest ;
He closes his eyes to himself and never discovers the self ;
His nature is immature and his resolve is weak ,
This adversary cannot stand even one blow from me ;
Take back from me the doll of water and clay ;
An old man cannot be expected to idulge in childish pranks.

From Jupiter the poet is transported to Saturn where he meets traitors who have betrayed their own countries and masters—Mir Jafar of Bengal and Sadiq of Deccan. The two traitors give a description of their pitiable condition in pathetic terms. Even hell did not want to pollute its scorching flames with the bodies of such ignoble creatures.

After Saturn the poet reaches the Trans—Heaven region or the Empyrean where he meets the German philosopher Neitzsche, who tried all his life to grasp Godhood, but failed, because he relied mainly on intellect. After meeting Neitzsche he goes to Paradise—a world without any directions and without day and night. Here he seens the mausoleum of Sharafun Nisa, the daughter of Abdus Samad, Governor of the Punjab. Sharafun Nisa represents ideal womanhood Later on he meets Syed Ali Hamadani—a saint from Kashmir, and Tahir Ghani, a poet from the same region. Tahir Ghani refers to the sale of Kashmir by the British to Gulab Singh in the following touching lines :

باد صبا اگر به جنیوا گزر کنی
حرفے ز ما به مجلس اقوام باز گوئے
دهقان و کشت و جوئے و خیابان فروختند
قومے فروختند و چه ارزان فروختند

O breeze if you pass by Geneva,
Convey this message of ours to the League of Nations :
They sold peasants, crops, rivers and gardens,
In short, sold a noble nation and so cheap at that.

The poet then meets the Hindu poet Bhartarihari and three Eastern potentates, Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali, and Tipu Sultan. Ahmad Shah Abdali refers to the growing tendencies in Eastern countries to adopt Western methods of living and points out that this is not necessary for purposes of progress :

حکمت از قطع و برید جامه نیست
مانع علم و هنر عمامه نیست
شرق را از خود برد تقلید غرب
باید این اقوام را تنقید غرب

The poet then leaves the Highest Paradise, but before he leaves the Houris request him to recite a few lines, which he does. Finally the poet see an illumination of Divine Glory and says that the world is full of so many imperfections and iniquities that it hardly becomes the Almighty. A reply comes from the Almighty:

چیست بودن دانی اے مرد نجیب
از جمال ذات حق بردن نصیب
زندهٔ ؟ مشتاق شو خلاق شو
همچو ما گیرندهٔ آفاق شو
هرکه او را قوت تخلیق نیست
پیش ما جز کافر و زندیق نیست

What is 'To be' ? Do you know noble man?
To partake of the Beauty of Divine essence ;
Art thou alive? Be eager, be creative:
Like us encompass the whole Universe;
He who lacks the power of creation
Is naught to us but an atheist and an agnostic.

Finally Iqbal requests the almighty to reveal to him the destiny of nations. This led to the Vision when Divine Glory and Beauty pervaded all and His Glory revealed everything to the poet. This is a great spiritual experience !

It will be seen that *Javid Namah* is a grand poem. It is not possible to attempt a critical survey of the poem here, but some of its outstanding features deserve mention. The most noticeable

feature is the marvellous variety of effect produced by the introduction of lyrical interludes. These lyrical interludes serve to heighten the effect of variety by providing change in rhythm and style at intervals. The second characteristic is the complete absence of any conscious and laboured effect on the part of the poet. The poet strikes a lofty note without any effort. There is no doubt that the poem is one of the classics of the world. It has already been translated in German, Italian and English, and it can be hoped that translation in other leading languages of the world will follow.

This brief survey of Iqbal's poetry will show that all those who turn to it will find in it that wealth of thought and beauty of art not often met even in the greatest poets of the world The secret of this great artistry is a combination of classicism and romanticism. Iqbal started as a classicist, but soon remanticism attracted him. And we see in Iqbal that balanced classicism and romaticism which only a genius like that of Iqbal or Goethe could achieve.

While dealing with his poetic art we have referred to Iqbal's philosophy. In his conception of art Iqbal is a functionalist and believes that the principle of all art is life itself. Thus his philosophy of life is nicely and artistically enshrined in his poetry. Professor R. A. Nicholson says about Iqbal :

"During his stay in the West he studied modern philosophy, in which subject he holds degree from the University of Cambridge and Munich. His dissertation on The Development of of Metaphysics in Persia, an illuminaling sketch, appeared as a book in 1908. Since then he has developed a philosophy of his own."

Iqbal's philosophy is the philosophy of Self. According to Iqbal : "Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches perfection in man." The question naturally arises as to what is Self. How is it related to the human body and to the objective world? Self is a sort of system or unity of psychic experiences or activities, and it reveals itself as a unity of mental states. A characteristic of unity of the Self or Ego is its essential privacy, which reveals uniqueness of every ego.

Another characteristic of the Ego is its finitude; this finitude means that we have another reality determining the finitude.

Self is directive in its essential nature. The life of the Self lives essentially in its will attitudes. The life of the Ego develops from the basis of the physical organism which reacting to environment slowly builds up a systematic unity of experiences but the question arises : What makes the emergent emerge ? According to Bergson emergence is due to a vital urge, non-mechanical, non-teleological. But this does not satisfy all, and the explanation offered by theism is perhaps more satisfying. According to the theists God is not only transcedent but also the emergent force, which is constantly producing or creating new emergents within spatio - temporal order. Iqbal accepts this view. Another characteristic of the Ego is its spontaniety. The acts comprising the body repeat themselves. Body is accumulated action or habit of the soul and as such undetachable from it. The system of experiences we call soul or Ego is also a system of acts. This does not obliterate the distinction of soul and body ; it brings them close to each other. So far we have dealt with the reality of the Self, its finitude, its emergence and its evolution from a physical basis, but the Self is still a concept. And now the question arises as to whether we can go any further? According to Iqbal we can intuit the Self. Intuition of Self confers on us the conviction of permanent rcality of our own self. Furthermore, the intuition of the Self is open to us all.

It will be seen from the above that the Ego has to confront a non-ego at every step. So the question arises: Is the activity of the Ego determined by its own self or things external to it, that is are we free or not? Iqbal believes in the freedom of the Ego, and is supported in this not only by religion but also by modern physics. Furthermore, the freedom of the Ego can be directly intuited It is the Ego which evaluates thought and all evaluation is free. So the thinking subject is free. Further all our activity is teleological. Our life is life of purposive activity, but the purpose is of our giving. The Ego is limited by its inner possibilities, but the degree of freedom is relative and by evolution and development the ego can acquire more and more freedom. The Ego is not only free, it is also immortal. Before understand-

ing immoratality we have to realise the nature of time. As for Bergson so for Iqbal, the Self has two aspects. While Bergson calls these aspects the fundamental self and social self, Iqbal, more appropriately, calls them the appreciative self and the efficient self. The appreciative self lives in pure duration, in eternity, which means change without succession. Its life consists in movement from appreciation to efficiency, from intuition to intellect, from pure duration to serial time which can be measured by days and nights. Thus it will be seen that the time of the ego is different from the time - span of the physical world. True time - duration belongs to the Ego alone. Iqbal says, "To exist in a pure duration is to be a self and to be a self is to be able to say" "I am", only that truly exists which can say 'I am'. It is the degree of intuition of I that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being." Thus Ego is eternal, it is immortal and is a permanent element in the scale of being and existence. But there are egos in which consciousness of egohood only flickers dimly. They have to work and develop before achieving immortality. Immortality is not ours by right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Life offers to the Ego a great scope for personal efforts to achieve the ideal of immortality, and death is perhaps the first test of life's synthetic activity.

Ego can live only in a state of tension, and relaxation is fatal for it. This tension is maintained by constant action, yearning and desires. Ego must maintain ideals before it and strive ceaselessly to achieve these. This means very life for the Ego. But to achieve a higher degree of freedom and to attain immortality the Ego has to develop. There are certain forces which help in the development of the Ego, notable amongst them being 1. *Love;* 2. *Courage.* 3, *Tolerance.* 4, *Taking part in original* and *creative activities.* Iqbal uses the word 'Love' in a very wide sense. According to him it is a cosmic assimilative force which helps the human ego in its development towards immortality. Love is the regenerating spirit of the universe which helps in cutting the Gordian knot of all human perplexities, and provides an antidote to all human vices Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them.

Without courage it is impossible for man to achieve anything really important in this world. Courage does not consist merely in

facing manfully physical dangers. There is greater courage required in not losing faith in one's ideals when things go wrong. In times of stress and torment courage provides a sheet - anchor for human character, a pivot round which other virtues revolve.

If every member of a society is to develop his individuality to the fullest extent, intolerance will only lead to perpetual quarrels and conflicts. As Iqbal has remarked :-

"The principle of the Ego sustaining deed is respect for the Ego in myself as well as in others". (Lectures p. 113).

Originality and creativeness lead to the fortification and development of Ego, and although these are not given to us all in equal measure, still every Ego has an urge to create. The creative element in man raises him to the divine plane, and frustration of the creative element distorts human character.

As against the forces which help the development of the Ego there are forces of a negative character which retard its development. The most important among these are *fear* and *begging*.

By encouraging influences which fortify the Ego and by avoiding or suppressing forces which weaken it the Ego goes from strength to strength. In this evolutionary process the human Ego has to pass through three stages :-

1. Obedience to Law ;
2. Self - control, which is the highest form of Self - consciousness or egohood.
3. Divine vicegerency.

To the Ego that is properly disciplined and suitably fortified, the first stage is represented by a phase in which obedience to law comes unconsciously. Obedience to law tends to prepare the Ego for the second phase where it acquires perfect self - control. Self - control in its turn prepares the Ego for the final stage: Divine vicegerency. The vicegerent of God on earth is the completest Ego, the goal of humanity, the acme of life both in mind and body.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal not only deals with the nature of the Self, its reality, freedom and immortality, but also lays down a regimen for its evolution and development. Following this regime every human Ego can become a Perfect Man. Now this

Perfect Man cannot live in isolation. He has to live in a society along with others. So Iqbal prescribes the essentials of a society which will not only bring out the best in the human Ego, but will allow it to play its legitimate role in the uplift of mankind. According to Iqbal this society must be based essentially on spiritual considerations such as *Tauhid* (monotheism) and *Risalat* (inspired leadership or Prophethood). It must have a code for the guidance of the individuals, and a centre, and must gain supremacy over the forces of nature by studying sciences. Society based on these considerations acquires timelessness and becomes eternal Describing the relations of an individual and society Iqbal says :

فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است
جوهر او را کمال از ملت است
فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود
قطرهٔ وسعت طلب قلزم شود —
فرد تنها از مقاصد غافل است
قوتش آشفتگی را مائل است

To an individual, attachment to a group is a blessing,
His potential worth attains perfection from the group:
When an individual identifies himself with a group,
The drop in its quest for expansion becomes an ocean;
The lone individual is unaware of objective;
His strength is prone to disintegration.

It will be seen that Iqbal takes a balanced view of relations between the individual and the society, and maintains that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible unless it draws its spiritual sustenance from the culture of the group to which it belongs. On the other hand the group in its own interest owes a duty to the individual and should interfere with his development as little as possible and that only when the common good demands it.

Having described the nature and characteristics of the Ego and its relation with the society Iqbal goes on to deal with its relations with the objective world. Pantheists declare that the material world is unreal and illusory. Iqbal differs from this view. According to

him the external world exists and is real. The physicists hold that its nature is material. Iqbal does not agree with this view also, According to Iqbal the nature of matter cannot be revealed either by sense preception or by thought. Bergson claims the knowledge of universe by intuition. Iqbal differs from Bergson, and as he does not claim the knowledge of the universe by intuition he falls back on analogy. On the anology of the self physical world too exists in time, But time is a peculiar possession of self only, so the world must be regarded as a unique self. The universe then, on the analogy of our self, is of a free creative character. It is of the nature of life. All life however, is free, creative and original. The universe therefore is a creative universe which is bursting and burgeoning at every point. There is no final state to the universe.

It has often been alleged by certain thinkers that Nature is inimical to man, and therefore it is our duty to escape it in order to save our spirit. This alleged incompatibility between the demands of matter and the demands of spirit gave rise to some most undesirable ideas regarding man's relations with the universe. True self-development, according to the Quran, would come not by renunciation but through proper adjustment of man's relations to the external world. Human self must not turn its back to the material world, but must gain dominance over it by establishing a proper adjustment and relationship.

Having determined the nature of the universe there remains the fundamental problem which has worrie philosophers and thinkers in all ages, the nature of God, the Ultimate Ego. From the very consideration that the universe is a self, intelligent and purposeful, we are driven to assume the cxistence of an all-comprehensive Ego. Now the question arises what is the relation of the Ultimate Ego with the finite Ego.

According to Iqbal the Ultimate Ego holds the finite egos in its own self, without obliterating their existence. This leads to the conclusion that the Ultimate Ego is not transcendent as conceived by anthropomorphic theists. On the other hand He is immanent. But on the analogy of the self the Ultimate Reality has an Egohood, that is to say He has consciousness of His own I-am-ness like us, but this 'I-am-ness' does not lie within the grasp of our experience. Thus the Ultimate Ego is transcendent also. In short, Ultimate Ego is transcendent as well as immanent and yet neither one nor

the of other. But for various reasons Iqbal emphasises the transcendence rather than the immanence of the Ultimate Reality.

Thus it will be seen that in his philosophy of Self Iqbal has not only laid down the details of the regimen that the human self has to follow for its development, he has also laid down the rules for the organisation of an ideal society in which human Ego gets optimum conditions to develop individually and socially. Following this regimen and placed in this environment it is impossible to conceive of any limit to its expansion. In its relations to the objective world the relationship is of increasing dominance, while in its relationship to itself it is of continuous expansion or development. But dominance and expansion are not to be regarded as two distinct processes; they are actually two aspects of the same process. Human ego is helped in this dual process of dominance and expansion by having a true conception of God—the Ultimate Ego.

It will be seen that Iqbal's philosophy shows the way to the evolution of that ideal human society for which man is yearning since the dawn of creation. Different cultures and different civilisations have in the past attained great heights but their life lacked balance, and so these cultures have disappeared leaving mere indications of their glorious achievements. Humanity is passing through a state when its very survival is threatened. How can we preserve our progress and save humanity from the fate which is staring it in the face? By working on the philosophy of Iqbal which is so beautifully enshrined in his gorgeous poetry and othere writings. It will be seen that Iqbal's ideas are in complete consonance with the teachings of the Quran. The question will then be naturally asked that if Quran shows the way to haman progress and happiness why has the Islamic Society failed to achieve these objects? According to Iqbal the reason for this is failure of the Muslims to reinterpret the Quran in the light of a developing universe. So he turned his mind to the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam. During 1928 and 1929 he understook a series of lectures on this subject which are now published in the form of a book. Describing the impact of modern Western thought on Islam Iqbal says in one of his lectures :-

"The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually

moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European cultùre may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture. With the re-awakenimg of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam."

But Iqbal never claimed that his interpretation of Islam was the last word on the subject. He says :

"It must, however, be remembered that there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views, and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lecturers are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain our independent critical attitude towards it."

In his lecture on "The Human Ego—His freedom and immortality" he further says :

"The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful and independent attitude, and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us."

An interesting question is whether Iqbal was in religious matters a reactionary or a reformer. Different writers have judged him differently. All those who have studied his writings and even his poetry will not hesitate to call him a reformer and even a revolutionary. Iqbal devotes a full chapter to the "Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam" discussing the doctrine of *Ijtehad*—right to exercise independent judgement and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances

He says : "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life; for the eternal gives us a

foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to evaluate all possibilities of change, which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilise what is essentially mobile in its nature".

(Lecture, p 140)

Further on he says :

" The closing of the door of Ijtehad is pure fiction suggested partly by the crystalisation of legal thought in Islam and partly by that intellectual laziness which especially in periods of spiritual decay turns great thinkers into idols. If some of the latter doctors have upheld this fiction, modern Islam is not bound by this voluntary surrender of intellectual independence. It is therefore, necessary that the social order of Islam should not be allowed to become static, sticking to the letter that killeth and ignoring the dynamic spirit that keepeth alive."

(Lectures p. 168)

There are certainly some critics who have only seen his insistence on religious basis of culture or a criticism of the Western culture especially as it is not based on spiritual considerations, and they are equally vehement in calling him a reactionary. If at times he appears to be a reactionary it is so because he sees in the past some eternal values, and he insists on revealing them not only to his people but to the world. There is no doubt that with moving times there is much in the past of which society is well rid, but there is much of which a society can disregard only at its peril. He is a reformer because he does not fail to detect in future great values which the society must adopt.

In his lecture on "Spirit of Muslim Culture" Iqbal says that Greek thought in no way determined the character of Muslim culture. According to the Quran the inner experience is only one source of human knowledge, the other two sources being Nature and History, and it is in tapping all these sources of knowledge that Islam is seen at its best The most important characteristic of Muslim culture is insistence on a dynamic conception of the universe. It is one of the most essential teachings of the Quran that nations are collectively judged and suffer for their misdeeds here and now. In order to establish this proposition the Quran constantly cites historical instances

and urges the reader to reflect on the past and present experiences of mankind. Two ideas form the basis of the Quranic teachings in this connection :—

1. The unity of human origin. "And we have created you all from one breath of life."

2. A keen sense of the reality of time, and the conccpt of life as a continuous movement in time.

If the true significance of these basic principles is borne in mind by the leaders of mankind, the world will be a different place to live in. In his lecture on "Is religion possible ?" Iqbal says :
"And religion, which in its higher manifestations, is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great resonsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by inhuman competition, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values."

What is necessary today is that the work of reconstruction started by Iqbal should be pursued. This will be the sincerest tribute we can pay to his memory.

On August 14, 1947, there came into existence a new State—PAKISTAN. Iqbal was one of the first men to conceive this State, and it was he who first announced from the platform of Muslim League, the largest and oldest political organisation of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, that a division of the sub-continent into two states provided the only solution of the political, religious, and communal troubles with which the country was faced. Iqbal also played a momentous part in the actual creation of Pakistan. But to understand his politics and the part played by him in the creation of Pakistan it is necessary to understand the historical background of Muslim connection with the Sub-continent.

The first Muslim invasion of the Sub-continent took place in 712 C. E. under the leadershisp of a young intrepid general Mohammad Bin Qasim. This invasion resulted in the conquest of Sind, a province

of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, and a majority of the inhabitants of Sind have remained Muslim until the present day. This invasion by Mohammad Bin Qasim was followed by invasions from the north by Sultan Mahmud Ghazni, who invaded the Sub-continent seventeen times from 999 to 1025. Mahmud succeeded in annexing the Punjab. In the course of time the house of Ghazna was supplanted by the dynasty of Ghor. Shahabuddin Ghori, a scion of the dynasty, conquered the kingdom of Delhi in 1192. From 1192 to 1526 five Turkish or Afghan dynasties ruled at Delhi. After the decay of the Turkish or Afghan dynasties at Delhi the Muslim dynasties in the Sub-continent were no longer concentrated in Delhi, but were represented by the Sultans of Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujrat and Malwa.

The Hindu society, which was politically disorganised and socially degenerate, when it first came in contact with Islam began a process of organisation and recovery. But Hinduism failed singularly to absorb Islam as it had done with other ideological, sociological and religious systems with which it had come in contact earlier. Thus in spite of good neighbourliness a spirit of antagonism subsisted from the beginning. The Moghuls succeeded the Turks-Afghans in 1526, and their effective rule lasted from 1526 to 1707 with a short break. Aurangzeb was the last of the great Moghuls, and his death was followed by the disintegration of the Moghul empire. The Marathas appeared in Central and Western India. Sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah further served to weaken the Moghul hold, and subsequently the strength of the British, French and Dutch settlements developed. A number of Muslim successor states also grew about this time.

But as soon as East India Company had disposed of its European rivals it began absorbing both Hindu and Muslim states. The political and economic downfall of the Muslims that had set in after Aurangzeb's death, reached its culmination in the nineteenth century, and Islam after six centuries of domination found itself reduced to a position which was most depressing. For the Muslims the situation was truly desperate and Islam on the Sub-continent had now to find a new place or perish. The man who saw this most clearly was Syed Ahmad Khan, founder of the Aligarh movement. This great man worked hard in every way possible for the moral and educational uplift of his people. Some leaders especially Nawab Habibullah of Dacca, Viqarul Mulk and Mohsinul Mulk came forward and founded the Muslim

League in 1906, the object of which was to safeguard the political rights of the Muslims. A deputation of the elder statesmen of the Muslims waited upon Lord Minto, Governor General of India, and pressed for separate electorates for the Muslims and effective representation in the legislative Councils of the country. Similarly a deputation waited upon Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India in London, in 1909. Political reforms, generally known as Morley-Minto Reforms, were introduced in 1909 and under these reforms the right of separate electorates and reserved seats was conceded to the Muslims. This recognised the existence of two separate groups or nations in the country.

Morley-Minto Reforms were followed by Montague-Chemsford Reforms in 1917, under which a diarchical form of Government was introduced, some departments of Governments being handed over to popular ministers. The treatment meted out to the Muslims by the Ministers was in most cases neither fair nor equitable. This left them baffled and frustrated. In the wake of political coercion, economic boycott, and other disabilities inflicted on the Muslims by the majority community, Hindu-Muslim riots followed, and assumed a form of civil war.

In a series of All Parties Conferences and Unity Conferences several attempts were made to draft an agreed constitution for the Sub-continent, but they all failed. It was at this stage that Iqbal came out of his seclusion to take an active part in the politics of the country. He began taking a leading part in the political life of the country and joined the Punjab Muslim League. He was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council in 1927. But as pointed above the momentous event was his selection to preside over the deliberations of the Muslim League, the leading political organisation of the Muslims of the Sub-continent, in 1930 at its annual sessions held in Allahabad. It was in his Presidential speech that Iqbal declared :—

> "I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North West India Muslim State appears to be final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North West India."

In a letter to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Iqbal wrote on 28th May, 1931 :

"... . After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country withont a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India, the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, e. g., North West India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlal's socialism into the body-politics of Hinduism is likely to cause much blood-shed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived. Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru. Anyhow I have given you my own thoughts in the hope that you will give them serious consideration either in your address or in the discussions of the coming session of the League Muslim India hopes that at this serious juncture your genius will discover some way out of our present difficulties."

As remarked above in 1931 Iqbal attended the Round Table Conferences held in London to find a solution to the political

problems of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. In his speech to the Muslim Conference (1932) he remarked :—

"Politics have their roots in the spiritual life of a man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, of if you like a civic church. It is because present day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics."

In 1937 he wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam :—

"A separate federation of Muslim provinces reformed on the lines I have suggested above is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India, and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North West India and Bengal be considered as NATIONS entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are."

As a result of all this the Muslim League met in Lahore and passed on 23rd March, 1940 what is today known as the PAKISTAN resolution. It was left to Quaid-i-Azam and his lieutenants to give a practical shape to Iqbal's dream. Although he did not live long enough to see the creation of Pakistan, the important role that he played in the achievement of Pakistan will be appreciated from the following massage which Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah sent to his son on his death :—

"To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher, and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock, and never flinched one single moment."

In his foreword to Iqbal's letters the Quaid-i-Azam wrote in 1943 :—

"It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation."

Iqbal was essentially a seer and a political statesman, and it is no doubt true that he was no match for the intrigues and machinations of political adventurers, but there is no doubt that his foresight,

integrity and sincerity enabled him to show his people the way to the acquisition of a homeland. He never lost courage even when his political rivals reduced him to a hopeless minority. He had faith in Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and confidence in his people.

As has been remarked above it is impossible to sketch the versatile personality of Iqbal in a brief talk. We have already dealt with him as a poet, philosopher, religious reformer and as a politician but a reference must be made to his role as an educationist. Iqbal served in the Educational Department of the Punjab from 1899 to 1905 till he went abroad for higher studies, and on return he again worked as a part - time Professor in Government College, Lahore. But even after he had severed active connections with the Education Department, Iqbal continued to take interest in education all his life. For years he was Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies and Chairman of the Department of Philosophical studies in the Punjab University About 1910 or so he wrote an illuminating letter giving his ideas on educational reforms to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, the leading body dealing with the educational problems of the Muslims of the Sub-continent.

Iqbal's educational philosophy has already been dealt with in an illumianating sketch by a well - known educationist, but the part played by him as an educational reformer still remains to be described. In 1923 Iqbal was invited by King Nadir Shah to visit Kabul and to advise the Afghan Government regarding the educational system of Afghanistan.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal played a leading part in different roles, and has left an impression on the mind of resurgent Asia which it is difficult to assess at present. Once when a friend asked him what he was actually doing he replied that sitting in his small house in a street of Lahore he was trying to create a new urge for life in the heart of Asia. For us in Pakistan he represents the highest symbol of our culture and is regarded with just pride as our true national poet. But he was more than a poet. There is no phase of our life in which his many-sided genius does not provide us guidance. There are not many instances in the history of mankind of a man born with a mission. To achieve his mission Iqbal spurned the prizes that the world covets. And yet so far we have failed to appreciate the true significance of his message.

When gathering my chattels I forsook this world, all and sundry said "We knew him well". Forsooth none knew about this traveller, What he said, whom he addressed, whence he hailed.

It can be truly said of him: "He was not of an age, but for all times." He was a seer and could see the dangers towards which uncontrolled progress in sciences and disregard of spiritual values could lead humanity. In lines of rare prophetic vision he warned the European nations of the results of policies based on imperialism and colonialism.

دیار مغرب کے رهنے والو خدا کی بستی دکاں نہیں هے
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رهے هو وہ اب زر کم عیار هوگا
تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ هی خود کشی کریگی
جو شاخ نازک په آشیانه بنے گا نا پائدار هوگا

O people of the West, God's earth is not a shop,
The gold you think to be genuine will now prove to be of low value
Your civilisation is going to commit suicide with her own dagger,
The nest which is made on a frail bough cannot but be insecure.

XV

IQBAL—A SURVEY OF HIS WORK

Amir Shakaib Arselan of Damascus (Syria) once remarked that Iqbal is the greatest thinker the Muslim world has produced during the last thousand years. Iqbal's merits as an Islamic thinker are recognised by all, but what is often overlooked is the fact that he was not only a thinker but also a versatile genius. He was a poet, prose-writer, linguist, jurist, statesman, educationist, lawyer and an art critic besides a thinker of great merits. In fact the versatility of his genius staggers our imagination.

Iqbal was born in Sialkot in Pakistan on the border of Kashmir in 1877. After a distinguished career at school, he went to the Government College, Lahore where he studied Arabic and Philosophy and obtained the degree of M. A. in 1899. After serving for sometime in the Oriental College and Government College, Lahore, he went to Cambridge for studies. At the same time he carried out researches in Munich from where he got Doctorate as a result of his thesis on "*The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*," and also studied law. Iqbal returned home in 1908 and for sometime he worked as a teacher and practised law. But finally he decided to concentrate on law.

Iqbal's outlook on life underwent two important changes during his stay in Europe. He developed an utter dislike for narrow and selfish nationalism which was the root cause of most political troubles in Europe and his admiration for a life of action and exertion became more pronounced. He wrote :

The life of this world consists in movement,
this is the established law of the world.
On this road halt is out of place
A static condition means death.

When leaving England Iqbal warned Europe in lines of rare prophetic vision of the abyss towards which her materialism, imperialism and colonialism were leading her.

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بستی دکاں نہیں ہے
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہوگا
تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خود کشی کریگی
جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا نا پائدار ہوگا

O' residents of West, God's earth is not a bargaining counter,
The gold you are thinking to be genuine will prove to be of low value :
Your civilisation is going to commit suicide with her own dagger :
The nest which is made on a frail bough cannot but be insecure.

Iqbal who had already earned a name as a great poet before leaving for England wrote on return epoch-making poems like *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikwa*. In *Shikwa* Iqbal addressing the Almighty, asks why the Muslim people are so backward in spite of the great work their ancestors had done to spread His Last Message on the earth

صفحۂ دھر سے باطل کو مٹایا ہم نے
نوع انساں کو غلامی سے چھڑایا ہم نے
تیرے کعبے کو جبینوں سے بسایا ہم نے
تیرے قرآں کو سینوں سے لگایا ہم نے
پھر بھی ہم سے یہ گلا ہے کہ وفادار نہیں
ہم وفادار نہیں ، تو بھی تو دلدار نہیں

We erased the smudge of falsehood from the parchment firmament;
We redeemed the human species from the chains of slavery,
And we filled the Holy Kaaba with our foreheads humbly bent ;
Clutching to our fervent bosoms the Koran in ecstasy ;
Yet the charge is laid against us we have played the faithless part ;
If disloyal we have proved, least Thou deserved to win our heart.

In *Jawab-i-Shikwa* God the Almighty points out the reasons why the Muslims have fallen so low :—

One and common are the profit and the loss the people bear ;
One and common are your Prophet, your religion and your creed ;
One the Holy Sanctuary, one Koran, One God you share ;

But to act as one, and Muslims—that would every bound exceed.
Here sectarianism triumphs ; class and caste there rule the day ;
Is it thus you hope to prosper, to regain your ancient away?

In the end God addressing the poet speaks to the Muslims in an encouraging strain :—

کی محمد سے وفا تو نے تو هم تیرے هیں
یه جہاں چیز هے کیا ، لوح و قلم تیرے هیں

Be thou faithful to Muhammad, and We yield Ourselves to thee ;
Not this world alone—the Tablet and the Pen thy prize shall be.

After these poems Iqbal adopted Persian language as the medium for his poetry and wrote in 1915 the famous poem *Asrar-i-Khudi* followed in 1918 by *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi.* In *Asrar-i-Khudi* Iqbal describes in beautiful poetry the philosophy of ego which is the basis of his philosophy. Iqbal is struck by the fact that there is individuality in everything that lives or exists ; the stars of heaven and the things of earth are all, according to Iqbal, individuals and do not merge in each other, but they do not possess individuality in an equal degree. Individuality becomes personality in man. Fortification of personality enables the ego to conquer environment and space on the one hand and time on the other, and to approach the greatest Ego of all egoes—God, in His attributes, and thus produce Superman or as Iqbal terms it *Mard-i-Momin.* Man who comes nearest to God is the completest person. Thus Iqbal starts with a strong faith in the evolution of man. In order to help this evolution Iqbal considers the following factors necessary :—

(1) Love ;

(2) Faqr which can be best defined by the Prophet's Traditions : الفخر منی (Faqr is my pride)

(3) Courage ;

(4) Tolerance ;

(5) Kasb-i-Halal ;

(6) Taking part in original and creative activities.

In *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* Iqbal has described the essential requirements of an ideal human society. For such a society he considers the following requirements :—

(1) It must be based on spiritual considerations such as monotheism.

(2) It must centre round inspired leadership or prophethood.

(3) It must possess a code for its guidance like Quran.

(4) It must have a spiritual centre like the Kaaba.

(5) It must have a clear objective and according to Iqbal the objective before the Muslims is the propagation of Islam.

(6) It must strive to gain supremacy over the forces of nature.

According to Iqbal a society can attain immortality only by fulfilling these requirements.

In 1928-29 Iqbal delivered a series of lectures on Islam, which have been published under the title *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. These lectures are a precious contribution to Islamic literature and as soon as they were published they brought recognition to Iqbal as the leading thinker in the Muslim world. In these lectures Iqbal has attempted to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recents in the various domains of human knowledge. Iqbal boldly challenges the attitude of the Muslim Ulema who admitting Ijtehad in theory, claim finality for the popular schools of Muslim Law :

> Did the founders of our schools ever claim finality for their reasonings and interpretations ? Never. The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to reinterpret the fundamental legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life, is, in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problem.

(*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 168*)

Iqbal published many other poems in Urdu as well as in Persian, in which he preached fervently that the salvation for mankind is to be found only in its response to the message of Islam. This message is contained in poetry of transcedent and sublime beauty. His *magnum opus* is *Javid Namah*, whose concept is based on the *Meraj* or the

Ascension of the Prophet, and Ibne-Arabi's *Futuhat-i-Mukkia.* In a beautiful passage in *Javid Namah* Abu Jehl, the inveterate enemy of the Prophet Muhammad, says in lamenting tones :

سینهٔ ما از محمد داغ داغ   از دم او کعبه را گل شد چراغ

مذهب او قاطع ملک و نسب   از قریش و منکر از فضل عرب

در نگاه او یکے بالا و پست   با غلام خویش بر یک خوان نشست

قدر احرار عرب نشناخته   با کلفتان حبش در ساخته

احمران با اسوداں آمیختند   آبروئے دودمانے ریختند

این مساوات این موخات اعجمی است   خوب می دانم که سلمان مزدکی است

Muhammad seared my soul, his breath blew out
The light that radiated from Holy Kaaba ;
His faith cut across both fatherland
And *nose*; denying excellence to both
The Arabs and Quraysh. He even holds ;
Both high and low, and with his slave he dines ;
He does not recognise free Arab's worth,
And ever repulsive negroes he befriends ;
He mixes the brown with the black, disowns
All noble ancestry. This brother-hood
And this equality are foreign things,
Completely un-Arabian.

Iqbal once said that when poetry is of the man-making type it is actually an offshoot of prophethood. Of such a type was his own poetry. For him the gift of song was simply a means to an end, to convey a message. At first response to his message was rather disappointing. But the magic of his breath at last set aflame the smouldering fires of the Millat's spirit. Not only did Iqbal gain phenomenal popularity in his own life-time but what is more important, his poetry brought about a re-awakening and renaissance of the Muslims of this Sub-continent in a way that had to be seen to be believed. He gave them back their self-respect and self-confidence, analysed and appraised the conflict of the East and the West, the old and the new, and gave us a new touch-stone as a final measure of value—the growth

and integaration of personality or the ego. The result was that a radical change came about among our people in their attitude towards life. The manners and morality, the religion and philosophy typical of a subservient people under the yoke of colonialism were replaced by the nobler ideals of a proud independent people. Physically we were not free but the spirit was emancipated, and once the mind has clearly imagined and firmly resolved an action, the formality of taking place follows as a matter of course. Within ten years of the death of Iqbal, Pakistan was achieved. Iqbal, however, lived to see the spiritual revolution which prepared the way for this consummation. And today ninety million people of Pakistan regard him with love and gratitude as their spiritual father. But Iqbal's concern was not with one country alone. He was and claimed to be a citizen of the world. The entire spirit of his poetry is cosmopolitan. To the West in particular he had some home-truths to tell, from which it is not to be thought that his condemnation of Western civilisation was wholesale and unqualified. There was a great deal in Western culture which he admired, just as there was much in the Eastern culture which he exposed as decadent and worthless.

As we have remarked above Iqbal preached universal brotherhood of mankind in which all distinctions of colour, race and nationality will be abolished. In order to attain this brotherhood he naturally turns to the brotherhood of Muslim people. That no serious student of Sociology can afford to ignore Islam as a system will be clear from the following remarks by Dr. Maude Royden, a Christian Missionary :

> The religion of Mohammet proclaimed the first real democracy ever conceived in the mind of man. His God was of such transcedent greatness that before Him all worldly differences were naught and even the deep and the cruel cleavages of colour ceased to exist.......... The Muslim, black, brown, or white alone finds himself accepted as a brother not according to his colour but his creed.

There is no doubt that discrimination due to colour and blood differences was spreading amongst the people, and it was for this reason that Iqbal exhorted the Muslims to remember :—

نه افغانیم و نے ترک و تتاریم   چمن زادیم و از یک شاخساریم
تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است   که ما پروردهٔ یک نوبهاریم

Not Afghans, Turks or sons of Tatary,
But of one garden, and one trunk are we ;
Shun the criterion of scent and hue,
We all the nurslings of one springtime be.

Emphasising the dignity of man Iqbal says :—

تو اے کودک منش خود را ادب کن   مسلمان زادهٔ ترک نسب کن
برنگ احمر و خون و رگ و پوست   عرب نازد اگر ترک عرب کن

Leave childishness, and learn a better love ;
Abandon race, if thee a Muslim bore ;
If of his colour, blood and veins and skin
The Arab boasts, an Arab be no more.

Addressing the Arabs he says:

یہ نکتہ پہلے سکھایا گیا کس امت کو
وصال مصطفوی ، افتراق بولہبی
نہیں وجود حدود و ثغور سے اس کا
محمد عربی سے ہے عالم عربی

Which *millat* was taught this point:
Unity is the way of Mustafa and disunity the way of Bulahab.
The Arab world is not prescribed by geographical boundaries;
The limits of Arab world are prescribed By Muhammad of Arabia.

Once Iqbal wrote:

If the object of the human world is peace and security and to knit the various social units into one entity then it is impossible to think of any other system except Islam, because from what I understand from the Quran Islam does not claim merely to improve man's moral condition but to bring about a gradual but basic change in human society.

It was for this reason that Iqbal preached a Confedcration of the Muslim world with the Arab world and Mecca as the nucleus. As already rcmarked Iqbal was one of the greatest thinkers of the world. He had drunk deep of Eastern and Western philosophy and so it is

natural that his thought shows an affinity with the thought of the thinkers of the world. This has led many students of Iqbal to trace the source of his thought. But Iqbal has left no doubts on this point. Again and again he emphasises that the source of his thought is Quran and Quran alone.

Take this message from me to the Arabian poets;

I attached no importance to ruby lips;

From the light that I gathered from the Quran,

I ushered a man after a night lasting over hundred years.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal was one of those natural forces that shape the destiny of mankind. By his sublime poetry and other writings he made the Muslims of the world realise their great mission in the world and he led ninety million Pakistanis to a free homeland. It is true that Iqbal's appreciation and popularity spread more rapidly in non-Arab countries, first because Iqbal wrote mostly in Urdu and Persian. But now the Arab countries have taken Iqbal's poetry to their heart as much as any other nation. Some of the earliest introductions that Iqbal got to the Arab world were through Al-Bashir, the Arabic Magazine of Pakistan, while Hasan-ul-Azmi, a Pakistan scholar who studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, did much pioneer work in translating his poetry into Arabic. He brought out an anthology of Iqbal's poetry in Arabic which included translation of Iqbal's *Tarana* by himself and translations of *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikwa* by an Egyptian poet Saddy Aly Shahla. Another anthology appeared later on in Baghdad by that talented poetess Amira Nureddin. But the great contribution made in this field is by the late Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam Bey. This great scholar whose early death was a great loss to the subject of Iqbal studies has translated in Arabic verse *Payam-i-Mashriq* and *Asrar-u-Rumuz* besides many other poems. These translations while retaining the meaning as well as spirit of the original reflect the fire and colour of Iqbal, because the Arabic language is well suited to express such epic themes and sonorous rhythms as are found in Iqbal. It is only hoped that other poems of Iqbal will also be translated in Arabic soon. As remarked above Iqbal's one aim was to bring the Muslims of the world into closer relationship, and to achieve this he has not only sung of the glories of Arab culture and their contribution to modern civilisation, but he has also given messages to the Arabs which are beautifully summarised in the oration of the Mehdi of Sudan.

گفت '' اے روح عرب بیدار شو   چوں نیاگاں خالق اعصار شو

اے فواد اے فیصل اے ابن سعود   تا کجا بر خویش پیچیدن چوں دود

زندہ کن در سینہ آں سوزے کہ رفت   در جہاں باز آور آں روزے کہ رفت

خاک بطحا خالدے دیگر بزاے   نغمۂ توحید را دیگر سراے

With a sigh on his lips he said, "Arise,
O Arabs' soul and like thy ancestors
Create new times. O Faysal and Fuad,
And Ibn-e-Saud, how long will ye like smoke
Wind round thyselves? Rekindle fire in hearts
And bring into the world the day that's gone;
O, Batha's land Khalid new produce;
And sing the song of one God once again.

To the Arabs of Palestine he has said:

زمانہ اب بھی نہیں جس کے سوز سے فارغ
میں جانتا ہوں وہ آتش ترے وجود میں ہے
تری دوا نہ جنیوا میں ہے نہ لندن میں
فرنگ کی رگ جاں پنجۂ یہود میں ہے
سنا ہے میں نے غلاموں سے امتوں کی نجات
خودی کی پرورش و لذت نمود میں ہے

The warmth of which this world cannot stand,
I know that fire is latent in thy instance.
The remedy is neither in Geneva nor London;
Europe's very life is controlled by the Jews.
I have heard that nations can get riddance of slavery
Only by developing their own selves.

Iqbal worked for the resurgence of the Muslim people all his life and before he died on 21st April, 1938 there were already signs of renaissance among the Muslims of the world. Colonialism and imperialism were disappearing and the hold of Western powers over Muslim countries in Asia and Africa was loosening.

XVI

IQBAL THE SPIRITUAL FATHER OF PAKISTAN

The Muslim contact with the Sub-continent started with the conquest of Sind in 712 by that intrepid 16-years old Arab General, Muhammad Bin Qasim[1]. This conquest was followed by attacks from the north when Subaktagin of Ghazna came into conflict with his neighbour, Jaipal. His son, Mahmud, invaded the Sub-continent seventeen times between 999 and 1025, and was successful in annexing the Punjab to his empire. In course of time the house of Ghazni was supplanted by the dynasty of Ghor, and Shahabuddin Ghori, scion of the dynasty, conquered the Kingdom of Delhi in 1192. From 1192 to 1526 five Turkish and Afghan dynasties ruled at Delhi.

The Moghuls succeeded the Turco-Afghans in 1526 when Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodhi on the plains of Panipat. The Moghuls ruled in the Sub-continent from 1526 to 1857, with one break, but the disintegration of the great empire had set in, in 1707, the year in which Aurangzeb, the last great Moghul emperor, died. Towards the year 1748, the once mighty Moghul empire was virtually reduced to a mere strip of land round Delhi.

During the ditintegration which set in after Aurangzeb's death there were attempts at Hindu resurgence through the Marhattas and the Jats. As the kaleidoscopic changes in the politics of the Sub-continent progressed the one event which characterised the whole process was the growth to power of the British East India Company. Like other European nations the British also came to the Sub-continent as traders. The East India Company was founded on 31st December, 1960.[2] This Company succeeded in extending the field of its commercial operations and during Shah Jehan's reign it obtained from him the privilege of trading in Bengal.

While the British were busy in the South an event of great importance happened in the North. The Marhattas were routed in the Battle of Panipat in 1761. This was a God-send for the British.

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1. Hafeez Malik: Muslim Nationalism in India & Pakistan-pp. 1-2.
2. Oxford History of India.

Here a reference must be made to the two Muslim states in Southern India, Hyderabad and Mysore. As a result of the French defeat in the Carnatic wars the Nizam of Hyderabad became a vassal of the British. In Mysore Tipu Sultan put up a spirited fight against the British and inflicted on them a crushing defeat at Mangalore (1783). But in the fourth Mysore War (1799) Tipu Sultan was killed and the last vestige of Muslim power disappeared from Southern India.

In 1843, Sind, the oldest possession of the Muslims on the Sub-continent, was conquered by Sir Charles Napier. On 7th February, 1856, Oudh was finally annexed by the British.

Thus it will be seen that by 1857 most of the country had passed under the British rule except for those Indian States which had accepted a position of vassalage. For the Muslims these were the days of great humiliation and frustration. From the position of supremacy they were reduced to one of extreme political and economic degradation. Naturally there were feelings of antagonism and opposition against the ascendancy of the British as a military and political power both amongst the Muslims and the Hindus. As a result there was an uprising which started in Meerut on 10th May, 1857. This was suppressed ; the British Crown took over the Government of India in 1858, and the East India Company vanished from the stage of Indian history.

Although, even before the uprising the Muslims had suffered heavily at the hands of the British, after its suppression began a period of systematic persecution and political annihilation for the Muslims all over the country. There were mass hangings of the Muslims all over the country. Their properties were confiscated, their houses dug up in search for loot, and their belongings and houses were sold almost for nothing to the Hindus. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said : "After 1857 heavy hand of the British fell more on the Muslims than on the Hindus[1]." This is understanding truth. A Hindu historian has remarked : "The British Government till 1857, was mostly pro-Hindu, looking upon the Muslims as their implacable enemies. One Governor General even boasted that he had revenged the sack of Somnath by his destruction of Ghazni and by his removing the gate of the historic temple[2].

1. Jawahar lal Nehru: An Autobiography, John Lane, The Bodley Head (p. 460, 1941).
2. K. M. Pannikar: A Survey of Indian History, pp. 268.

As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has remarked "By the end of the Mutiny, the Mussalmans, high and low, were brought down by these series of events to the lowest depths of broken pride, black despair, and general penury. Without prestige, without education and without resources the Muslims were left to the Hindus. The British, pledged to neutrality, were indifferent to the result of the struggle between the communities. The result was that the Mussalmans completety worsened in the struggle[1]." Although the British professed neutrality they were really more interested in the annihilation of the Muslims than even the Hindus.

The Muslims were faced with a desperate and gloomy situation. But at this critical time in their history there appeared a remarkable man, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1816-1898), who can be regarded as the founder of the Muslim integration in the Sub-continent.

In 1909 was passed the Indian Council's Act, generally known as Morley-Minto Reforms. The importance of these from the Muslim point of view was that they conceded the Muslim demand for separate electorates. English politicians, on the whole, failed to understand this, but reasonable Hindu leaders admitted the inevitability and justice of the system.

The second instalment of reforms was granted in 1919. These were known as the Montague Chelmsford Reforms. In these the system of separate electorates was not viewed with favour, but it was allowed to continue. We have already referred to the fact that the Muslims and the Hindus lived in the country as separate people with occasional exhibition of open hostility. But after the First World War certain circumstances brought them closer as a result of what is known as the Khilafat Movement, a movement to ensure that Muslim holy places remained in Muslim possession, and that Turkey was not dismembered. But in 1923 cracks appeared in the Hindu-Muslim unity. The causes which contributed immensely to the increase in the friction between the Hindus and the Muslims of the Sub-continent was the organization of the Shudhi and Sangathan Movements by the Hindus. The aim of the former is to reduce the Muslim population by a process of reconversion and of the latter to organise a private army to exterminate the remaining Muslim population. The

1. B. R. Ambedkar: Pakistan p. 31.

result was that relations between the two nations became poisoned and a series of riots made them worse.

We have described the historical background of the Muslims on the Sub-continent with special reference to the political and economic difficulties which they had to face as a result of the antagonistic attitude of the ruling power and the aggressiveness of the Hindus. It is not possible to understand the true significance of Iqbal's politics without a full understanding of this background.

It is true that Iqbal did not take any active part in the politics of the Sub-continent for a long time. During this period he was busy in creating political consciousness and a sense of integration amongst his people. Once this was done, and he realised that time was ripe for him to take an active part in politics he did not hesitate for a moment. But even when he kept himself aloof from active politics he continued to take interest in the politics of the Sub-continent. While a student in England he attended the meetings of the Muslim League held under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Amir Ali. On return home he took an active interest in the affairs of the Punjab Muslim League. But it can be said that from 1913 to 1923 he abstained from any active participation in political activities. The reasons can only be surmised. This was the time when Iqbal was busy developing his philosophy and writing his epoch-making poems *Asrar-i-Khudl*, *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu-i-Islam* etc. During this period the Muslim political leaders were definitely thinking of reapprochement with the Hindu aggressive political ambitions garbed under the cloak of nationalism, which finally resulted in the Lucknow Pact. Iqbal was never tired of criticising the Lucknow Pact which had turned Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal into minorities. Whatever may be the reasons Iqbal did not take any active part in politics during this period. It was in 1923 that Iqbal was persuaded by certain friends to stand for election to the Punjab Legislative Council, and he was quite willing to do so. But his supporters wanted him to stand from Lahore, a constituency from which Mian Abdul Aziz also wanted to stand. As Mian Abdul Aziz was an old friend Iqbal decided not to contest the election. Finally he stood for elections to the Council in 1926, and was elected by an overwhelming majority. He remained a member of the Punjab Legislative Council from 1926 to 1929, and took great interest in the proceedings of the Council. It

was about this time that the British Government decided to appoint a Commission to investigate methods of introducing constitutional reforms in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent under Sir John Simon (later Lord Simon). This was really as a result of agitation against the Montague Chelmsford Reforms introduced in 1919.

The announcement of the Commission led to the division of the public opinion on the Sub-continent as to whether there should be co-operation with the Commission or not. This split also affected the Muslim League. The main body of the Muslim League led by the Quaid-i-Azam decided to boycott the Commission, but an influential section of the Muslim leaders led by Sir Muhammad Shafi thought that boycotting the Commission was against the interests of the Muslims. These Leaders led by Sir Muhammad Shafi formed a separate Muslim League, which was known as Shafi League, and Iqbal was elected its Secretary. The Council of Shafi League at its meeting held in Lahore, and attended by Iqbal, decided the lines on which the memorandum to be submitted to the Commission was to be prepared. Iqbal was a member of the delegation which gave evidence before the Simon Commisson on behalf of the Shafi League.

The Simon Commission finished its work in the country in April, 1929, and submitted its report to the British Government in the middle of 1930. But even while the Commission was busy collecting evidence in the country there was so much agitation against its composition and *modus operandi* that in October, 1929 the Viceroy announced that the British Government proposed to call a Round Table Conference in London to consider the question of future constitutional reforms in the Sub-continent. The First Round Table Conference commenced its work towards the close of 1930 and finished on 19th January, 1931. Iqbal did not attend this Conference. The Second Round Table Conference started work in September, 1931 and finished on 1st December, 1931. Iqbal attended this Conference, which was also attended by Mr. Gandhi. At this Conference two Commissions were formed, the Minorities Committee and the Federal Structure Committee. But the members could arrive at no agreed solution of the communal problem. So the delegation wrote a letter to the British Prime Minister requesting him to give an award. The Prime Minister gave the award in August, 1932. As soon as it was announced, Iqbal issued a statement in the course of which he said: "I honestly believe that no

community has a more genuine grievance against the decision than the Muslim. Indeed I cannot explain to myself as to how the British conscience has tolerated this injutsice."

The Third Round Table Conference was held from 17th November, 1932. Iqbal attended it. Even when busy in the Punjab Legislative Council he was taking more and more interest in the politics of the Sub-continent. He attended the Muslim Conference held in Delhi on 1st January, 1929, under the chairmanship of the Agha Khan. In 1930 he presided at the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad and delivered a momentous oration, as the Presidential speech, in which he said : "The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze on the world of spirit, led by a logical process of thought to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the prophet's religious experience, as described in the Quran, however, is wholly different. The religious ideal of Islam, threrefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of polity on national lines, if it was a displacement of the Islamic principles of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim." Finally came his proposal for the division of the Sub-continent in the following terms:

"The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands endorsed in this resolution. Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied in it I would like to see the Punjab, the North West Frontier Provinces, Sind Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the function of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India."

As we know later on he defined this State to include the areas in the North East of the Sub-continent also where Muslims were in a majority. In 1937 he wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam: "Why should not the Muslims

of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are."[1]

On 21st March, 1932 Iqbal presided over the deliberations of the All India Muslim Conference held at Lahore. In his presidential address he declared : "I suggest that the Indian Muslims should have only one political organisation, with provincial and district boards, all over the country. Call it whatever you like. What is essential is that its constitution must be such as to make it possible for any school of political thought to come into power and to guide the community according to its own ideas and methods."

From 1931 to 1934 the Muslim League had suffered a great deal in infleunce and popularity, and Mr. Jinnah was so disappointed that he had gone and settled in England, in 1931. He was persuaded to return to the Sub-continent in 1934. On his return he took up the work of revitalising the League. In 1935 the Government of India Act was passed, and so all political parties, including the Muslim League got busy in connection with the preparation for the forthcoming elections. In its sessions held at Bombay in 1936 the League had authorised Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Parliamentary Board. But Mr. Jinnah received no co-operation from any province and no Muslim leaders were willing to help him in revitalising the League. The Muslims were at this time so badly disorganised that a writer has remarked : "But in the midst of all darkness there shone a flicker ing light in Lahore. And this was Iqbal who stood steadfast by Jinnah in those trying days and helped him to charter the course of Indo-Muslim politics."[2]

In order to carry out the directions of the Leauge Quaid-i-Azam went to Lahore in 1936, and stayed there for four days. During this stay he met Sir Fazl-i-Husian, who had come back to the Punjab after finishing his term as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and asked him to form the Punjab Parliamentary Board on behalf of the League. But this gentleman simply refused to co-operate. On the other hand he rudely asked the Quaid-i-Azam to leave the Punjab. In despair the Quaid-i-Azam turned to Iqbal, who willingly undertook to organise the Punjab Parliamentary Board. Iqbal called for a meeting

1. Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah p. 29.
2. A History of Freedom Movement Voll. III Part II, p. 315.

of the Punjab League Council on 30th May, 1936, which re-elected him as President of the Punjab League.

Iqbal organised the League Office and tried to open branches of the League in the districts. For the 1937 elections under the new Reforms he invited applications. Unfortunately only 39 candidates applied, out of which the Parliamentary Board selected only 7. Out of these 7 candidates, only 2 were elected. This was a gloomy state of affairs, but the Quaid-i-Azam with his foresight saw in these gallant efforts of ailing Iqbal the beginning of that fight which eventually gave the Muslim a free homeland on the Sub-continent.

In spite of the poor results achieved at the elections Iqbal continued his work. But Sir Sikander Hayat who was determined to destroy the Muslim League resorted to other tricks. Accompanied by a large number of followers he attended the Lucknow Session of the League, and somehow or other persuaded the Quaid-i-Azam to agree to what is known as the Jinnah-Sikander Pact. Iqbal was opposed to this pact from the beginning, but like a true soldier he continued to carry out Quaid's orders.

In a letter Iqbal wrote to the Quaid-e-Azam : "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look upon for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India."[1]

When Iqbal died Quaid-i-Azam sent the following message to his son: "To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher, and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment"[2] This message is an index to the regard the Father of the nation had for the services of Iqbal in the field of politics. The loss of political power by the Muslims of the Sub-continent constitutes a dismal chapter in their history, but the attainment of a free homeland forms an inspiring story.

The Muslims of the Sub-continent fought to help the Muslims of East Pakistan who were being exploited by both the white *banias* (the British) and the brown *banias* (the Hindus). As a first step they secured the Partition of Bengal, which was annuled by the British Government to please the Hindus. And finally the Muslims of the Sub-continent achieved a homeland in PAKISTAN.

I. Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah p 22.

2. Iqbal, His Art and Thought P. 19.

XVIII

IQBAL—A HUMANIST

تیرا بندہ رہے دل سے یہی پیمان رہا　　　　طائر فکر ترے اوج سے حیران رہا

The poet's highest office is to be a revealer of truths, or to be an unveiler of truths which, for some reasons, have been forgotten or are hidden from common eyes. It will be realized that to perform the latter function the poet needs as much prophetie insight as to perceive truths for the first time. It is the aim of all true poetry to come to the rescue of human nature when it is overborne by worldliness and cynicism by drawing its attention to truths that man has lost sight of. At the same time there is another function which poets fulfil, that of giving to thoughts and statements, which all share, beautiful and attractive expression. They set forth in graceful and attractive form the beauty which is there for all to see. Here the poet is discharging his artistic function, and, according to those who believe in art for art's sake, it is the poet's only function. A little reflection will be sufficient to convince any one that greatest poets of the world could never guide themselves to their great efforts merely to provide amusement to mankind. No great poet will ever be content with any object less worthy than that of coming to the rescue of humam nature by seeing and stating new truths for the first time or unveiling forgotten and concealed truths. Yet discharging this great mission his role as an artist cannot be ignored. Iqbal's great art invested his prophetic mission with a fascination and charm.

The two ascpects of the poet, as defined above, the prophetic and the artistic, co-exist in different proportions in all great poets; in one the prophetic insight predominates and in another the artistic utterance. in the case of any single poet it may be an interesting question to determine in what proportion he possesses each of these two qualities. To attain perfection in both these roles is given to few poets of the world, and the number of such poets in the world will not exceed a dozen. Iqbal takes his place in this select band. This is his greatness as a poet. But while appreciating his greatness as an artist it must be realized that Iqbal is nothing if he is not a revealer of truths. The question arises: If Iqbal was a revealer, what did he reveal? All students of Iqbal know that the subject of his poetry is Man. But what did he specifically teach? To what truths did he draw the attention of mankind?

Iqbal always used to say that his Brahmin forefathers used to spend their lives in search of God, but he spent his life looking for

Man. By this he meant that he concentrated all his energies, mental and spiritual, in working for the uplift of man. Iqbal was so absorbed in the uplift of mankind that no aspect of human welfare escaped his attention. As Terrence, the Roman comic poet, puts it :

Homo sum, et nibil humonum a me alienum puto

" I am a man, and I count nothing human indifferent to me "
So with Iqbal. He revealed to us the significance of man and his dignity. In lines of rare beauty he describes the warm welcome accorded by earth to Man.

" Open thy eyes : behold the earth, the stars, and the atmosphere :

Behold the Sun rising from the east ;
Behold this unveiled vision hid in veils of light,
Behold the anguish of the days of separation,
Be not over-wrought, witness the contest of Hope & Fear !
Under thy control are the clouds, the thunders,
The high vault of Heaven, and the silence of Space ;
These mountains, these deserts, these oceans, these winds.
Till yesterday the angels' charms attracted thee
Today in Time's mirror behold thy own attainments.

According to Iqbal, man's fall was no fall at all. Actually it was an opportunity ; but like any other opportunity it had pitfalls and dangers. It was by impressing upon Man his dignity and his significance that Iqbal revealed to him his destiny. This revelation brought new light to mankind groping in the dark, and seeking solution in wrong remedies like materialism , imperialism, Fascism, and Communism. Not only this ; Iqbal went further. He revealed to us the way in which man can develop himself to work out his destiny. He preached that human personality can attain its full stature only in an atmosphere of freedom, and so he waged a relentless crusade against political subjugation, eccelsiastical thraldom and intelletual servility. Ast a time when the whole world was so used to live under Western domination that it took such domination as granted, it was Iqbal who inculcated the moral and spiritual values of freedom and their effect on human personality . And it is in revealing the forgotten truth that human personality can develop only in an atmosphere of freedom that Iqbal's greatness lies. To guage a true measure of his greatness, we have to

remember the circumstances under which he revealed this forgotten truth. He had to face the ire of a police-ridden administration, obloquy of fanatic *mullah*, and misrepresentation of selfish and greedy compatriots who controlled the Press.

Iqbal wants to see human life take a stand on its human dignity and set itself free from narrow tribal, racial considerations. He was essentially a humanist, and it is in his humanism that Iqbal's greatness lies. His poetry, his philosophy and his politics all bear the mark of his humanism. But this word has come to acquire more than one meaning, and so we must be definite as to what it means. Gilbert Murray defines Humanism as follows : "I understand Humanism as an interest in human and human things that is, in the spirit of man in the special sense, in which man shows himself higher than the animals, and indeed with all his humble imperfections, the highest thing yet evolved upon the earth." Iqbal's interest in Man was so deep and intense that he proclaimed :

> For man I have shed tears night after night,
> Only then I could unveil the mysteries of life.

Iqbal revealed to Man his own potentialities, and indicated to what heights he can rise :

> This lesson from the Ascension of Muhammad I have culled
> Heaven has not—the reaching of what humankind can dare.
>
> (translated by A. J. Arberry)

For Iqbal humanism meant human self-esteem. It indicated the endeavour of man to reconstitute himself as a free being and not as the thrall of theological despots and a slave of political adventurers, class or territorial attachments and evolve a brotherhood extending to the ends of the earth, which in spite of distribution into groups hold together a common moral consciousness and be linked to each other by the ties of common humanity. Inspired by these ideas Iqbal preached against narrow nationsalism and racialism at a time when petty political ends were inspiring man to prevent these. A little reflection will show that even his advocacy of Pakistan was really based on humanistic considerations. He could not bear to see one religious group dominating over another simply because of numerical majority. To avoid this the only solution he could see was to divide the country into two so that each religious group could live in freedom as far as practicable.

Thus it will be seen that whether Iqbal opposed Western sovereignty or Hindu domination, whether he fought against narrow nationalism or stood up against Godless Communism, he was always actuated by humanistic considerations. It was his humanism that led him to reveal the truths that were concealed from mankind due to shortsightedness or narrowmindedness. Actuated by these noble notions he got busy on this Earth, so much so that he told the Almighty that work here needed him and so He must wait a while.

Why had Thou ordered me out of Paradise
Much work awaits my attention so wait a while.

(*Bal-i- Jibril,* p. 9)

This only indicates a consciousness of his great mission!

Judging Iqbal's greatness from this point of view we feel inclined to agree with Sir Maurice Bowra when he says, "The poet, it is now felt, can do something that other men cannot do."[1] And this Iqbal does both in his prophetic and artistic roles of a poet — in his case the one helps the other. It is really in the co-existence of these roles that his greatness lies—to which his humanism adds a new dimension. And it must be admitted that this combination is granted to few poets of the world. But when we consider his greatness as a poet in the prophetic and artistic roles we have to remember that it is his humanism that serves as a corrective to his greatness.

I. Sir Maurice Bowra : The Heritage of Symbolism (Macmillan, London, 1943). P. 220,

XVIII

DATE OF IQBAL'S BIRTH

The daily "*Inqilab*" of Lahore published the following note in its issue of 7th May, 1938 :—

> "In the brief account of Allama Iqbal, which was published in a previous issue of the '*Inqilab*,' the date of Allama's birth was given as December, 1876, according to a statement of Shaikh Ata Muhammad, Allama's elder brother. But it has been ascertained now that the date of Allama's birth was 22nd February, 1873, which corresponds to 23rd 24th Zilhij, 1289, according to the Hijri Calendar."

But in spite of this announcement there were still people who had grave doubts about the authenticity of the date of birth as announced by the *Inqilab*. Then in 1955 appeared Abdul Majid Salik's "*Zikr-i-Iqbal*" in which it was stated that the birth of Iqbal on 22nd February, 1873 was confirmed by the Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot, after referring to the records of the Municipal Committee of that town[1]. Now the Municipal records of births and deaths on the Sub-continent are generally authentic, and it is not possible to question their accuracy unless there is some clear evidence to the contrary. Prima facie there are two improbabilities against the date of Iqbal's birth as given by the *Inqilab* and Salik, and these are detailed below :—

1. In the first instance if we accept the date of Iqbal's birth as given by the '*Inqilab*' and Salik, his age when he passed Matriculation examination would be 21. The average age of a student passing Matriculation on the Sub-continent is generally 16, and clever students have been known to pass this examination at a much earlier age.

2. In January 1938, when Iqbal Day was celebrated in Lahore by the Muslim Students' Brotherhood in the poet's life-time,

1. **Abdul Majid Salik : *Zikr-i-Iqbal*, p. 10 Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore.**

his age was announced as 60. This rules out 1873 as the year of Iqbal's birth.

These improbabilities are enough to shake our faith in the authenticity of 22nd Feb., 1873 as the date of birth and to justify our investigating the subject further. To do this, we have to start with the records of the Municipal Committee, Sialkot.

The statement relating to the birth of Iqbal as given in the register of births maintained by the Municipal Committee is produced *vide* Exhibit A. When we examine it carefully the following facts emerge :—

1. The birth certificate mentions that it relates to a male child of Shaikh Nathoo (which is the pet-name of Shaikh Noor Muhammad, father of Iqbal). But the certificate does not mention the name of the child. There is nothing strange in this, as in many cases a child is named several days after the birth, which is generally reported to the Municipal Committee the same day or the day after.
2. The date of birth is given as 22nd February, 1873.
3. The Municial records do not mention the birth of any other son to Shaikh Noor Muhammad after 1873.

On the other hand, we have the following evidence against accepting the above entry in the register as the date of Iqbal's birth.

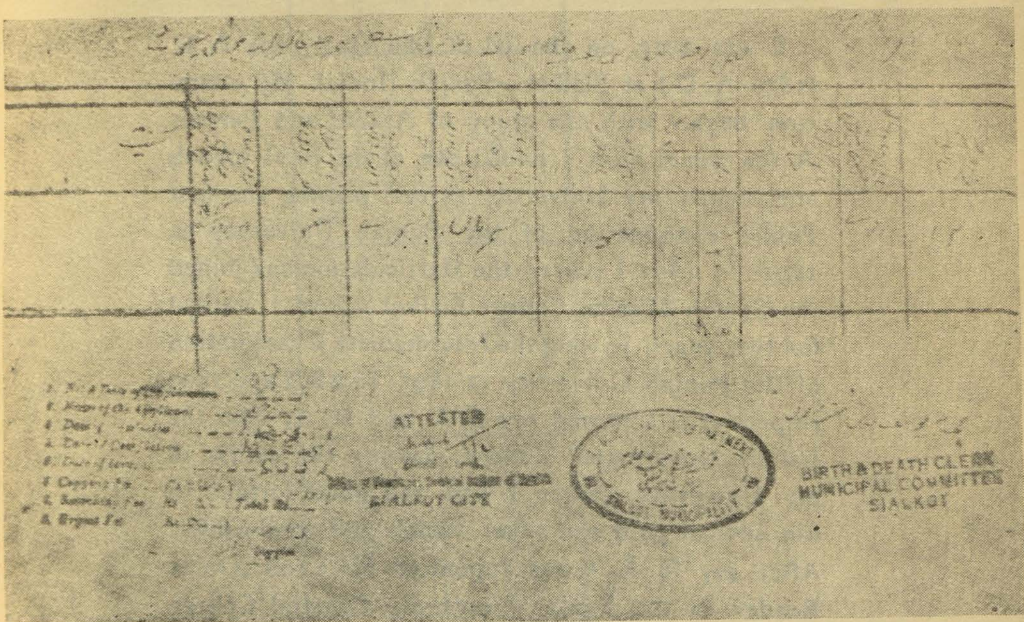
1. There is the evidence of Iqbal's sister that a son was born to Shaikh Noor Muhammad a few years before Iqbal's birth.[1] Thus the entry in the Municipal register probably relates to this son who died in infancy.
2. We have the evidence of another sister of Iqbal that he was born early in the morning on a Friday. As 22nd February, 1873 was not a Friday there is strong evidence against our accepting that date as the date of Iqbal's birth.[2]

After the date, as given in the Municipal records, several dates and years were suggested by various writers and journals, but as these are not based on any definite evidence we can disregard them straightaway.

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1. Syed Wahiduddin : *Rozgar-i-Faqir*, p. 231.
2. *Ibid* p. 231.

EXHIBIT 'A'


ATTESTED
SIALKOT CITY
BIRTH & DEATH CLERK
MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE
SIALKOT

میونسپل کمیٹی سیالکوٹ کے رجسٹر میں تاریخ پیدائش کا وہ اندراج،
جس سے ڈاکٹر صاحب کی تاریخ پیدائش کے متعلق غلط فہمی پیدا ہوئی-

EXHIBIT 'B'

LEBENSLAUF

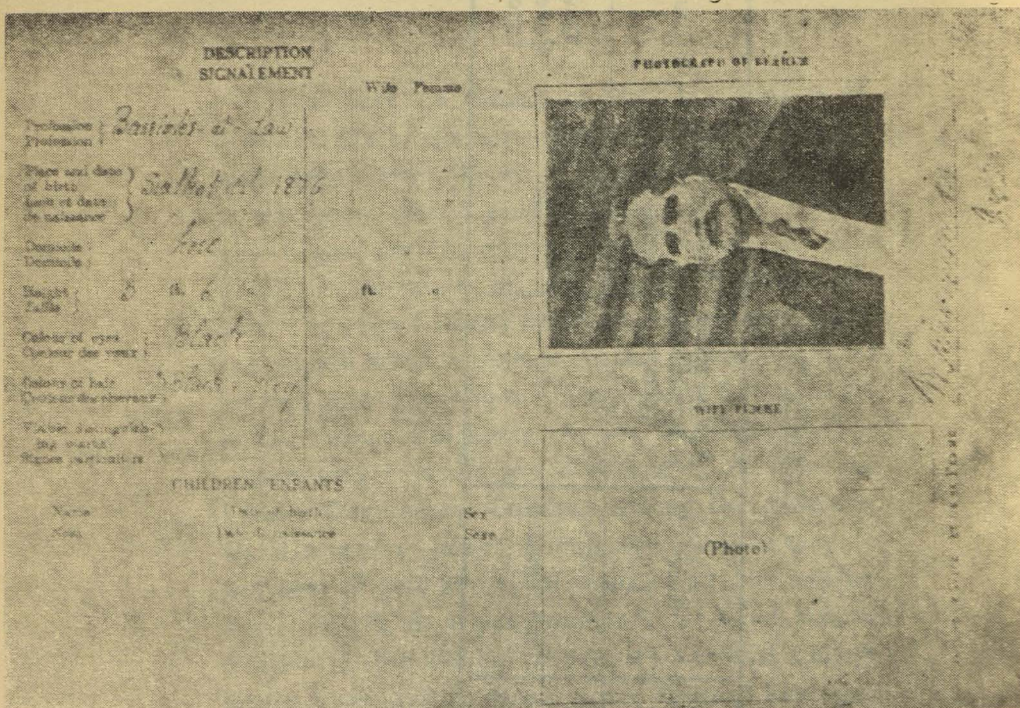
I was born on the 3rd of Dhū Qa d 1294 A. H (1876 A. D) at Sialkot—Punjab (India). My education began with the study of Arabic and Persian. A few years after I joined one of the local schools and began my University career, passing the first Public examination of the Punjab University in 1891 In 1893 I passed the Matriculation and joined the Scotch Mission College Sialkot where I studied for two years, passing the Intermediate Examination of the Punjab University in 1895. In 1897 and 1899 respectively I passed my B. A. and M. A. from the Lahore Government College. During the course of my University career I had the good fortune to win several gold and silver medals and scholarships. After my M. A. I was appointed Mc Leod Arabic Reader in the Punjab University Oriental College where I lectured on History and Political Economy for about 3 years I was then appointed Asst. Professor of Philosophy in the Lahore Goverment college In 1905 I got leave of absence for three years in order to complete my studies in Europe where I am at present residing

S. M. IQBAL.

EXHIBIT 'C'

Merit No.	Name	Race	Age (as given in application form)	Total number of marks obtained	Institution	Subjects in which the candidate was examined
11	Sheikh Mohd. Iqbal	Mohammadan	19	260	Govt. College Lahore	English Arabic Philosophy

EXHIBIT 'D'



DESCRIPTION
SIGNALEMENT

Wife Femme

Profession / Profession: Barrister-at-Law

Place and date of birth / Lieu et date de naissance: [illegible] 1876

Domicile / Domicile:

Height / Taille: 5 ft. 6 in. | ft. in.

Colour of eyes / Couleur des yeux: Black

Colour of hair / Couleur des cheveux:

Visible distinguishing marks / Signes particuliers:

CHILDREN ENFANTS

Name / Nom	Date of birth / Date de naissance	Sex / Sexe

PHOTOGRAPH OF BEARER

WIFE FEMME

(Photo)

پاسپورٹ میں تاریخ پیدائش کے اندراج کا عکس

For example the year of birth as inscribed on the *lapis lazuli* tomb-stone as supplied by the Government of Afghanistan is 1875. As there is hardly any evidence in support of this, we can straightaway disregard it as based on a mere guess. Another well-known writer on Kashmiri families, Mr. Muhammad Deen Fauq has mentioned the year of Iqbal's birth as 1875, although he corrected it later on as 1876.[1] Mr. Fauq was a friend of Iqbal, and had carried out detailed researches about the Kashmiri families living on the Sub-continent, still, we need not attach much weight to the years as given by him in view of the fact that he has not mentioned any evidence in support of his statement. Similarly, *Oxford History of India* gives the year of Iqbal's birth as 1876.[2] This is perhaps based on the year as given by Iqbal in *Lcbens-lauf.* In view of these improbabilities against accepting the date as given in the Municipal records as the date of Iqbal's birth several writers have devoted their time and energy to the examination of this question. The first man to express serious doubts about the correctness of the date of birth as given in the Sialkot Municipal records was Mr T. C. Roy who used to teach Urdu in Bonn (Germany). In 1975 Mr. Roy wrote a letter to the Cultural Attache of the Pakistan Embassy in Bad Godesberg pointing out that there was a good deal of confusion about the date of Iqbal's birth and actually three different dates were mentioned by different writers and authors. So he suggested a thorough investigation of this matter.

In 1958 Professor John Marek, of Prague University, wrote a detailed article in *Archiv Orentanli*, 1858, 26/4, published by Nakladatelstvi Ceskoslovenske Akademie Ved, Paraha, in which he arrives at the conclusion that the date of Iqbal's birth was 9th Nov., 1877. Since then Faqir Syed Wahiduddin has given a good deal of time and thought to the consideration of this question in his beautifully printed "*Rozgar-i-Faqir*" (1963). The conclusion at which Syed Wahiduddin has arrived confirms the findings of Professor John Marek. But it must be noted that whereas Professor Marek has relied mostly on the evidence of European scholars, Faqir Syed Wahiduddin has been able to collect the evidence of members of Iqbal's family, which he could obtain through Iqbal's nephew, Mr. Ijaz Ahmad. It must be recorded here that we are

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1. Muhammad Deen Fauq: *Tarikh Aqwam-i-Kashmir* Vol. II. p. 325.
2. *Oxford History of India*, Third Edition, 1961 p. 805

lucky to have living amongst us today Shaikh Ijaz Ahmad, nephew of Iqbal, and one of his sisters whose evidence is of great importance.

We have already referred to the fact that several writers have given 9th November, 1877, as the date of Iqbal's birth, and in view of the confusion and uncertainty that surround the whole question, it will be worthwhile to examine this date.

1. According to Allama's statement in the *Lebenslauf*, the date of his birth is 3 Ziqadh 1294 A. H. (*vide* Exhibit B). This date corresponds to 9th November, 1877, of the Christian Era.

2. In the Calendar of the Punjab University for 1896-97, page 348, the result of Iqbal's examination is announced as per statement *vide* Exhibit C. According to this statement the age of Iqbal, when applying for permission to appear at the examination, was 19, so it must be 20 or so when he actually passed the examination. This points to the year of his birth being 1877 rather than 1873.

3. According to a statement of Iqbal's sister, based on the authority of their mother, he was born early in the morning on a Friday.[1] Now 3rd Ziqadh 1294 A. H. was on a Friday.

4. V. Kubickova states in her *Novoyeskon Literatura XX stoleti* that Iqbal was born in 1877.[2]

5. Professor J. W. Fluck gives the year of Iqbal's birth as 1877 *vide Muhammad Iqbal under indomuslimische Modernismus Westostliche Abhadblungen.* Rudolf Tschwdi Zum 70 Geburstag, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 357.[3]

6. Gottified Simon in his "*Reformbeweguvgen in Islam*' gives the year of Iqbal's birth as 1877.[4]

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1. Syed Wahiduddin : *Rozgar-i-Faqir* p. 232.
2. Jan Rypka and collaborators : "*Dejnjiny perske a tadzicke literatury.*" (History of Persian & Tajik Literature), Praha, 1956, p. 305.
3. J. W. Fluck. *Muhammad Iqbal und der indomuslimische Modernismus Westostliche Abhadblungen,* Rudolf Tschudi Zum 70, Geburstag, Wiesbaden, 1954, p. 357.
4. According to the review of the book in *The Muslim Word* XXVII 1937 p. 437 as mentioned by John Marek.

It must be mentioned here that too much reliance cannot be plaeed on the dates as given by the European scholars. They have evidently relied on information as furnished by Pakistani writers or in the *Lebenslauf.* Still the statements of these scholars assume importance when they support the other available evidence.

7. *The Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore when publishing an Obituary Note about Iqbal mentioned the year of his birth as 1877.

While there is overwhelming evidence in support of the fact that Iqbal was born on Friday, 9th November, 1877, there are certain facts which tend to throw some doubts. These are mentioned below:—

1. There is no mention in Municipal records of this date, or of the birth of Iqbal, if that birth happened to be on any date other than 25nd February, 1873
2. In the international Passport issued to Iqbal in 1931 (vide Exhibit D) and also in *Lebanslauf* the year of birth is given as 1876.
3. G Taffarel in his *Notizie biographic sur Mohammad Iqbal* gives the year of Iqbal's birth as 1876. [1]
4. Helmuth von Glasenapp also gives the year of Iqbal's birth as 1876. [2]

As regards there being no entry in the Municipal records of Sialkot about the birth of Iqbal it may be pointed out that such omission was a common occurrence on the Sub-continent. Regarding the entry in the Passport it must be pointed out that converting Hijri dates into Christian dates or *voice rersa* is a very difficult process and involves complicated mathematical calculation. But luckily for us this process is today rendered easy by the accurate and laboriously prepared tables that we possess today. Unfortunately no such tables of conversion were easily available fifty years ago. Hence probably Iqbal had to carry out the conversion without the help of any tables, and so he converted 1294 A.H. into 1876 C. E. more or less approximately. An indication of the difficulty Iqbal felt is given by the fact that he did not

1 *Oriente Moderno* XVIII, 1938, p. 322.

2. *Die Leteraturen Indiens.* Postdam, 1929, p. 227.

mention any date along with the year. Thus the discrepancy is easily explained.

As regards the two European Orientalists, their statements only serve to emphasise that even as early as 1929 there was strong feeling against accepting 1873 as the year of Iqbal's birth.

When considering the degree of reliance that can be placed on their statements it may be pointed out that they have evidently based their statements on the information given by Iqbal in *Lebenslauf*. It must be noted that G. Tafferel is not a very reliable author as he says that Iqbal died in Bombay, which, as we all know, is not correct.

In addition to the evidence we have mentioned above there is a certain amount of secondary evidence which is also worth consideration :—

(a) Shaikh Ijaz Ahmad's mother told him that at the time of her marriage Iqbal was reading in V class, and his age was between 10-12 years. This makes him 16 or 17 at the time of Matriculation in 1893. So the year of his birth must be 1876 or 1877. In any case this evidence rules out 1873 as the year of Iqbal's birth. [1]

(b) In July 1938 Shaikh Ata Muhammad, elder brother of Iqbal, wrote to his son, Shaikh Ijaz Ahmad, that Iqbal's first wife was about 3 years older than Iqbal, and at the time of writing the letter her age was about 65. This letter also tends to prove that the year of Iqbal's birth could not be 1873. [2]

Before concluding it must be recorded that the writer owes a debt of gratitude to Professor John Marek of Prague University and Faqir Syed Wahiduddin of Karachi for their patient, painstaking, and thorough work in collecting evidence about the date of Iqbal's birth. The writer was always interested in this question and had collected considerable evidence but his task was rendered considerably easy by the work of these two scholars.

It must be put on record that whenever the question of the date

1. Information supplied by Shaikh Ijaz Ahmad in a letter.
2. *Ibid.*

of Iqbal's birth arose his great friend, Choudhry Muhammad Husain used to say that it was impossible for him not to believe any information supplied by Iqbal himself. And we would be quite safe in following Choudhry Muhammad Husain in this matter.

In dealing wlth this subject we have relied to a very great extent on evidence supplied by Iqbal himself. So we must also say something about the source of Iqbal's information. In most families important dates are recorded in family journals, but even if there was no such journal in Shaikh Noor Mohammad's family the old father must have informed the young son about the date of his birth before his memory blurred. The elders in every family remembered the dates of birth of various younger members and also transmission of the dates of birth is maintained in every family in the Sub-continent even to this day. In the case of Iqbal this method of oral transmission was to a certain extent natural as in his famly Iqbal was the only child who had adopted a scholarly career. Thus, the date of his birth must have been frequently mentioned in family circles as a date of great significance. To sum up we come to the following conclusions :—

1. There is absolutely no reason for us to disregard the date of Iqbal's birth as given by him, that is 3rd Ziqadh 1294 A.H. corresponding to 9th November, 1877,[1] althoughthe Municipal records of Sialkot town make no mention of this date.

2. There is no doubt that a son was born to Shaikh Noor Muhammad on 22nd February, 1873 as shown in the municipal records, but this child died in infancy.

In order to avoid all confusion, in future Iqbal Academy and other Societies as well as the Government of Pakistan may be requested to accept 9th November, 1877, as the correct date of Iqbal's birth.

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1. According to F. Wustenfeld - *Mahler' sche Verglei chungstabellen der Mohammedanischen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung* 2 Aufl. Leipzig 1926.

XIX

A.J. ARBERRY, A GREAT STUDENT OF IQBAL

Iqbal was a Cambridge man. He was in Trinity College from 1905 to 1907. Cambridge produced three great orientalists of the present century—E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, and A. J. Arberry who were all admirers of Iqbal. Referring to Iqbal's *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, Professor Browne says, "The other shorter but fuller account of Mulla Sadra's doctrine is given by Shaykh Muhammad Iqbal, formerly a pupil of Dr. Mc Taggart in this University of Cambridge, and now himself a notable and original thinker in India, in his excellent little book entitled *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*."[1] Professor Browne was one of the first scholars to review favourably the English translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi* by Nicholson. It is worth mentioning here that Professor Browne had a poor opinion about nearly all those poets of the Sub-continent who wrote in Persian, even 'Urfi and Sa'ib.[2] Professor Nicholson translated *Asrar-i-Khudi* into English. This translation attracted a good deal of attention. About the poem itself Professor Nicholson wrote in his Introduction to the translation :

> The artistic quality of the poem is remarkable when we consider that its language is not the author's own. I have done my best to preserve as much of this as a literal pure translation will allow. Many passages of the original are poetry of the kind that, once read, is not easily forgotten, *e.g.* the description of the Ideal Man as a deliverer for whom the world is waiting and the noble invocation which brings the book to an end.[3]

Professor Nicholson also wrote a detailed note on *Payam-i-Mashriq*, which was published in a General Journal.

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1. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (4 Vols; Cambridge: The University Press, 1959), Vol. IV. 19.

2. While talking to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on this subject, Professor Browne said that Iqbal was a rare phenomenon.

3. Nicholson (trans.), *Secrets*, p. xxx.

It was Professor A. J. Arberry who made it possible for the English-speaking world to appreciate Iqbal by reading his great poems in English translations. He translated the quatrains contained in *Payam-i-Mashriq*, and published these translations as the *Tulip of Sinai.*[1] He translated the *ghazals* contained in *Zabur-i-'Ajam* and published these as *Persian Psalms.* He also translated into English verse *Shikwa, Jawab-i-Shikwa*, and Iqbal's *magnum opus, Javid Namah.* No scholar can equal Professor Arberry's achievement as a translator. In the masterly introductions to his translations, he surveys different aspects of poetry and Iqbal's poetic art. In his Preface to *Persian Psalms*, he says, "He [the reader] will find himself in a new world of thought and feeling, a world vibrant with hope and high endeavour, a world revealing the vision of a great thinker who saw in these sorely troubled times the dawn of a new age."[2] In his Introduction to the translation of *Javid Namah,* he says,

> Both the *Asrar-i-Khudi* and the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* were composed in rhyming couplets, following a very long tradition in Persian didactic poetry going back a thousand years. The metre chosen by Iqbal for these poems is the *ramal-i musaddas-i maqsur*, the same as that employed by the greatest of Persian mystics, Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207-1273), in the greatest didactic poem in Persian literature, the *Masnavi* I have summarised the early history of this verse-form in the preface to my *Tales from the Mnsnavi.* (Allen & Unwin, 1961), which the reader may wish to consult. One noteworthy feature of the convention is that the poet lightens from time time the weight of formal exposition by the Introduction of illustrative anecdotes; to this tradition Iqbal also conformed When, however, he came to compose the third of his trilogy, Iqbal varied the pattern strikingly ; the *Javid-namah* is concieved as a narrative poem, or rather, a poetic drama, in which the didactic is put into the mouths of *dramatis personae.* A further remarkable novelty is the interspersing of lyrics, in various metres and in the monorhyme characteristic of the

1. Arberry (trans.), *The Tulip of Sinai* (London: The Royal Indian Society, n.d.).
2. Arberry (trans.), *Persian Psalms*, p. viii.

Persian ghazal, the effect of which is a very great enhancement of the poetic tension of the whole."[1]

Thus it will been seen that all students of Iqbal owe a special debt of gratitude to Cambridge for having provided two eminent scholars, Nicholson and Arberry, who introduced Iqbal to the West by means of their translations. Of these two Professor Arberry is decidedly the more devoted, thorough and comprehensive as an Iqbal scholar.

Professor Arberry was born on May 12, 1905, in a small house in the working class quarter of Pratton, Portsmouth. The fourth of five children in the family, his formal education began at the age of three when he joined the babies' class in a council school. When eleven years old he tried for a scholarship to Portsmouth Grammar School, but failed. Next year he succeeded in getting one of the ten free places available. He completed Senior Cambridge at 16. He decided to be a Classics scholar and went to Pembroke College, Cambridge, at Michaelens in 1924 after securing a scholarship At Cambridge he took a first in Part I of the Classical Tripos in 1925 and a first in Part II 1927. It so happened that in 1927 Pembroke produced not less than 5 first men in Part II in of the Classical Tripos, and so there was no chance for Arberry in the academic world. A friend advised him to apply for E. G. Browne Studentship founded out of the funds bequeathed by Professor E. G. Browne to the College for the encouragement of Oriental studies Arberry applied for the Studentship and, after having won it, he worked very hard and, in 1929, took a first in both parts of the Oriental Language Tripos.[2]

In 1931 Arberry was elected the Junior Research Fellow by his College. In this connection he went to Egypt. In Cairo he met the lady whom the married in Cambridge in November 1932. About this time the Headship of the Classics Department of Cairo University fell vacant. Arberry applied for it and was appointed to

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1. Arberry (trans.), *Javid Nama*, pp. 11-12.

2. Most of the information is based on the material contained in Arberry's *Oriental Essays* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960).

take charge of the post immediately. He continued in this post for two years. While in Cairo he witnessed Ahmad Sharqi's masterpiece *Layla Majnun* and was so taken up by it that he sought permission to translate it into English. While in Cairo, Arberry also edited two mystical texts.[1]

About this time the post of the Assistant Librarian of Indian Office, London, fell vacant. Arberry got the job and remained in this position for the next ten years.

On September 1, 1939, Arberry was transferred to the War Office, and attached to the Postal Censorship Department in Liverpool. In the summer of 1944, the Chair of Persian in London University fell vacant and Arberry was appointed to it. Thus at long last he returned to the academic world. 1946, the Chair of Arabic also fell vacant and with it the headship of the Middle East Department and Professor Arberry was appointed to it. In 1947, Professor C.A. Sotorey resigned from the Sir Thomas .Adam's Chair, and it was offered to Arberry. Thus Arberry returned to Cambridge, and his old College selected him a Fellow. Settled in Cambridge, Arberry started on his great work as an Orientalist, writing on Sufism, Rumi, and 'Umar Khyyam besides translating Iqbal. In Cambridge he took special interest in the Muslim students, mostly from the Middle East and the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. It was as a result of his efforts that the authorities of Pembroke College allowed the Muslims residing in Cambridge to hold Friday prayers in one of its Halls. Whenever I happened to be in Cambridge on a Friday, I found Arberry taking special interest in preparing the Hall for prayers.

Besides his translations of Iqbal's poems, his Oriental scholarship includes a translation of the Holy *Qur'an*,[2] his well-known book *Revelation and Reason in Islam*,[3] and several books on Sufism.[4] Towards the end of his life he was concentrating on Rumi

1. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

2. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (2 vols; London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955).

3. Arberry, *Revelation and Reason* in *Islam* (The Forward Lectures for 1956 delivered in the University of Liverpool; London, 1957).

4. E.g., *An Introduction to the History of Sufism* (Longmans, Green and Co., [1943]; and *Sufism An Account of the Mystics of Islam* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963).

and wanted to continue the work of his predecessor and teacher Professor Nicholson, on that great mystic. Referring to Nicholson Arberry once wrote:

> If years and health are given me to complete, as it is my fondest wish to do, the work on his favourite Rumi which he did not live to finish, whatever good thing I accomplish will be by right his. Disciple never had a wiser, a profounder or more loving Master.[1]

The following incident will clearly show his devotion to Rumi. Once Professor Annamarie Schimmel, Professor Arberry and the writer were having a lunch in Cambridge. Our talk turned to Rumi. Arberry recited some verses from him and was so affected that tears began rolling down his eyes.

Arberry was fully conscious of the difficulties of translating a poet like Iqbal. He candidly admits:

> Iqbal presents the translator with all the usual problems connected with translating poetry, and with further problems, still more difficult of solution, posed by his elusive style and idiosyncratic vocabulary. That this elusiveness was deliberate is proved by a remark he jotted down in a notebook dating from 1910, and published by his son Javid in 1961: 'Mathew Arnold is a very precise poet. I like, however, an element of obscurity and vagueness in poetry; since the vague and the obscure appear profound to the emotions.'[2]

When he started translating Iqbal, Arberry was lucky enough to have access to some of the mistakes that Iqbal had pointed out in Nicholson's translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*. In fact, Arberry prepared a statement of all these mistakes and collected them in a pamphlet which was published by Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore. In the preface to this pamphlet, Arberry says:

> The most arresting fact which emerged from the study of this new material was the extreme difficulty of reaching a

1. Arberry, *Oriental Essays*, p. 232.
2. Arberry, (trans.), *Javid Nama*, p. 13.

> correct interpretation of many passages in Iqbal's poetry. Professor Nicholson was at the height of his great powers when he made his translation of the *Asrar-i-Khudi.* It was shortly after the completion of this task that he began work on the *Mathnavi* of Jalal al-Din Rumi, a labour which occupied the rest of his life and crowned his splendid achievements in the field of oriental studies. All who put their hands to translating Iqbal may therefore well feel humbled when they consider how many times the inner sense of his poetry escaped Professor Nicholson's deep and careful scholarship. But they may well rejoice that fortune has preserved this unique example of Iqbal's exegesis of his own writings: by studying carefully the material which is assembled in these pages, the future worker in this field will find much to assist his under-taking.[1]

Before undertaking his work of translation, Arberry not only prepared himself well for the task but also availed himself of every possible help that he could get. There were before him not only the translations of Iqbal's works by other scholars, but also examples of Iqbal's work in this field. Naturally one would expect that, prepared as Arberry was for the great task, mistakes in his translation would be rare. And it must be admitted that mistakes are very few. In some cases, Arberry has failed to understand Iqbal correctly. Apart from these few mistakes, his translations are one the whole superb. They reflect the passion and fire of the original in a remarkable degree as will be seen from the following specimens:

بگذر از خاور و افسونیٔ افرنگ مشو
که نیرزد بجوے این همه دیرینه و نو
چون پر کاه که در رهگذر باد افتاد
رفت اسکندر و دارا و قباد و خسرو
زندگی انجمن آرا و نگهدار خود است
اے که در قافلهٔ بے همه شو با همه رو
تو فروزنده تر از مهر منیر آمدهٔ
آنچنان زی که بهر ذره رسانی پرتو!

1. Arberry, "Notes on Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self) (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1950), p. vi.

آں نگینے کہ تو با اہرمناں باختہ
هم بجبریل امینے نتواں کرد گرو
از تنک جامئی ما میکدہ رسوا گردید
شیشہ گیر و حکیمانہ بیاشام و برو(۱)

Arberry's translation:

Eschew the West, and do not be
Bewitched by Europe's wizardry;
Not worth a barley, in my view,
Is all her ancient and her new.

Mighty Darius, Iskandar,
Khusrau and Kaikobad—all are
A blade of grass upon the way
Swept by a passing wind, to-day.

Life is the Self to beautify,
To guard the Self right jealously;
Upon a caravan thou art—
Fare on with all, but go apart!

Radiant thou camest from the sky,
Far brighter than the sun on high;
So live, that every mote may be
Illumined by thy brilliancy.

Thou hast not spared thy precious ring
Idly to Ahriman to fling—
To pledge thee which it were not well
Even to trusty Gabriel.

The tavern is ashamed, because
So narrow is become our glass;
A beaker take, and prudently
Drink wine—and then be off with thee![1]

(ii) دم مرا صفت باد فرودیں کردند
گیاہ را ز سرشکم چو یاسمیں کردند

1. Iqbal, *Zubur-i-'Ajam*, pp. 184-185.
2. Arberry (trans.), *Persian Psalms*, pp. 117-118.

نمود لالهٔ صحرا نشین ز خونابم
چنانکه بادهٔ لعلی بساتگین کردند

بلند بال چنانم که بر سپهر برین
هزار بار مرا نوریان کمین کردند

فروغ آدم خاکی ز تازه کاری هاست
مه و ستاره کنند انچه پیش ازین کردند

در آ بسجده و یاری ز خسروان مطلب
که روز فکر نیاگان ما چنین کردند(۱)

Arberry's translation:

Soft my breath doth pass
Soft as April airs;
Jasmine-sweet the grass
Springeth from my tears.

Desert tulip glows
With the blood I shed
As in beaker shews
Wine all ruby-red.

Soareth so my flight
O'er the highest sphere
That the souls of light
Seek to trap me there,

Labours ever new
Make man's dust to glow;
Moon and star still do
As long time ago.

Come, O come to prayer;
Court no prince's door;
Ṣo our fathers were
When the world was poor.[2]

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1. Iqbal, *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, pp. 178-179.
2. Arberry (trans.), *Persian Psalms*, pp. 114-115.

(iii) زمستاں را سر آمد روزگاراں
نواها زنده شد در شاخساراں !
گلاں را رنگ و نم بخشد هواها
که می آید ز طرف جوئباراں
چراغ لاله اندر دشت و صحرا
شود روشن تر از باد بهاراں
دمے آسوده با درد و غم خویش
دمے نالاں چو جوئے کوهساراں
ز بیم ایں که ذوقش کم نه گردد
نگویم حال دل با راز داراں! (۱)

Arberry's translation:

The days are ended
Of winter long;
The branches quiver
With living song.
The breeze in beauty
Arrays the rose
As from the river
It gently blows.
The tulip's lantern
In desert bare
Is fanned to brightness
By the spring air.
A little eases
With grief and pain
Or like a hill-stream
Laments again.
Lest my heart's passion
May softer grow.
Not to the trusty
I'll tell my woe.[2]

1. Iqbal, *Zabur-'Ajam*, p. 53.
2. Arberry (trans.), *Persian Psalms*, pp. 30-31.

(iv) Describing the beauty of Kashmir, Iqbal says:

کوه هائے خنگ سار او نگر
آتشیں دست چنار او نگر!
در بهاران لعل می ریزد ز سنگ
خیزد از خاکش یکے طوفان رنگ!
لکه هائے ابر در کوه و دمن
پنبه پران از کمان پنبه زن!
کوه و دریا و غروب آفتاب!
من خدا را دیدم آنجا بے حجاب!(۱)

Arberry's translation:

Behold her mountains turbaned in white,
behold the fiery hands of her chenars:
in springtime rubies leap down from the rocks,
a flood of colour rises from soil,

stippled clouds cover mountain and valley
like cotton-flocks strewn from a carder's bow.
Mountain and river, and the setting of the sun:
there I behold God without a veil.2

(v) یا رب درون سینه دل با خبر بده
در باده نشه را نگرم آن نظر بده

این بنده را که با نفس دیگران نزیست
یک آه خانه زاد مثال سحر بده

سیلم، مرا بجوئے تنک مایهٔ مپیچ!
جولانگهے بوادی و کوه و کمر بده

خاکم به نور نغمهٔ داؤد بر فروز
هر ذرهٔ مرا پر و بال شرر بده(3)

Arberry's Translation:

I pray thee, Lord, to me impart
Within my breast a conscious heart:

1. Iqbal, *Javid Namah*, p. 187.
2. Arberry (trans.), *Javid Namah*: p. 118.
3. Iqbal, *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, pp. 4-5.

Give me the vision to divine
The rapture pulsing through the wine.
It never pleased me, to receive
Another's breath, that I might live:
Give me a breath as light as morn,
A sigh that in the home was born.
I am a torrent: do not set
Me dribbling in a rivulet,
But give my waters space to spill
O'er valley broad and spreading hill.
Illuminate my lifeless clay
With anthems David used to play;
Let all my atoms swiftly spring
Upborne upon an ember's wing.[1]

A study of the texts and their translations given above will show that this great scholar has succeeded in a remarkable degree in retaining the beauty and grandeur of the original. While one may find instances in which he failed to interpret Iqbal correctly, on the whole every student of Iqbal will find in these translations wealth of scholarship and art.

After reading Arberry's translations of Iqbal, one is reminded of great masterpieces in the English language in this field: Nicholson's translations of *Diwan-i-Shamsi Tabrez* and Gertrude Bell's translations of Hafiz. There is no doubt that all these translations have enriched the English language. In the words of E.G. Browne. it can be said of all these translations "I can recall but few English verse-renderings of Eastern poets which seem to me so adequate and so beautiful as these."[2]

Arberry has himself remarked, "It has been said that the ideal at which the translator should aim is to produce a version as near as possible to what his original would have written, had he been composing in the translator's language and not his own."[3] It can be safely said that Arberry has succeeded in a remarkable degree in

1. Arberry, (trans.), *Persian Psalms*, p. xi.
2. Arberry, *Oriental Essays*, p. 179.
3. Arberry, (trans.), *Javid Namah*, p. 14.

achieving the ideal he set before himself. This he could do because he also loved Islamic culture. His work on Islamic culture helped him in realising the subtleties and intricacies of a culture whose values, ideas and symbols form the basic framework of the context of Iqbal's poetry. Arberry considered Iqbal as a true representative of that culture. He used to say that Rumi saved the world from chaos seven hundred years ago and it is only the study of Rumi that can save Europe today. As he regarded Iqbal as a true disciple of Rumi, he felt that the study of Iqbal would help the Europeans today. Referring to hiss tay in Egypt, he remarked, "Though politics sometimes clouded the serenity of the academic sky, politics was never my business; and I look back on my years in Egypt, which took me also to Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria, as among the happiest of my life."[1] Though he never visited Pakistan, he always took great interest in the intellectual development of the country. He considered Pakistan as a representative of Islamic culture and his ardent wish was that this country should always remain so. In a message to *Bazm-i-Iqbal* in 1950, he wrote:

> Iqbal's doctrine of the indestructible significance of the individual contains a message of hope and inspiration in these days when the rights and duties of individual man are so gravely threatened by materialistic conceptions of an all-powerful state. His doctrine of the place of the individual in society, with his interpretation of the term society to mean the whole community of right-believing men and women, is no less important as a corrective to vitalist tendencies in contemporary thought. His message is of universal appeal and application.[2]

It must be admitted that early in his career his writings showed a feeling of nostalgia for the glory that had departed or was departing from England, but in course of time he outgrew this feeling. His studies of Rumi and Iqbal brought home to him a feeling of brotherhood in mankind. Meanwhile, his studies of the *Qur'an* and Sufism brought to him new light and a broadening of sympathies After years of studies he wrote about the language of the *Qur'an*:

1. Arberry, *Oriental Essays*, p. 237.
2. From the records of *Bazm-i Iqbal*, Karachi.

"Briefly, the rhetoric and rhythm of the Arabic of the Koran are so characteristic, so powerful, so highly emotive, that every version whatsoever is bound in the nature of things to be but a poor copy of the glittering splendour of the original."[1]

In a language of great warmth and depth, Professor Arberry writes in his Preface to *Koran Interpreted*:

> During the long months, the dark and light months, of labouring at this interpretation, eclectic where the ancient commentators differ in their understanding of a word or a phrase, unannotated because notes in plenty are to be found in other versions, and the radiant beauty of the original is not clouded by such vexing interpolations—all through this welcome task I have been reliving those Ramadan nights of long ago, when I would sit on the varandah of my Gezira house and listen entranced to the old, white-bearded Shaykh who chanted the Koran for the pious delectation of my neighbour .... It was then that I, the infidel, learnt to understand and react to the thrilling rhythm of the Koran, only to be apprehended when listened to at such a time and in such a place. In humble thankfulness I dedicate this all too inperfect essay in imitation to the memory of those magical Egyptian nights.[1]

I have known very few Christian scholars refer to the *Qur'an* with such feelings of devotion and admiration. Every word written by the Professor radiates his sincerity and echoes with his faith. This shows how with age and studies he had come to appreciate the spirit of Islam and Islamic Culture.

Throughout his career, Professor Arberry worked hard to make Oriental studies more popular in Great Britain, and in Scarbrough Report he saw signs of his hopes being realised after all. The Scarbrough Commission, consisting of fifteen men of distinction, was appointed on December 15, 1944 by the then Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden. Its Report has been with all justification called the Charter of Modern Orientalism. The report suggested means

1. Arberry, *Koran Interpreted,* p. 24.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

for affecting advances in the humanities comparable in scale with advance already achieved in science But in subsequent years the action taken on the recommendations of the Scarbrough Report was not very encouraging, and this made Arberry write: "I look forward to the time which I shall certainly not witness myself when it will be considered as normal for an undergraduate to study the history of Arab, or Persian or Indian or Chinese or Japanese civilisation as to investigate the ancient and modern civilisations of Europe." There are no signs of Professor Arberry's hopes being realised in the near future. But it must be acknowledged that he did his best to achieve the aims of the Report at least in Cambridge.

Professor Arberry produced books of great learning based on original research in great numbers It can be truly said of him that productivity was at full spate throughout his career. Owing to the pressure under which he worked his health broke down frequently and he needed holidays often which he utilised to collect fresh material for new books. In all he has left us over forty books

Once when Professor Arberry and the writer were having lunch with the Master of Pembroke College in the College dining hall, the Master asked Arberry, "Arberry, do you read all the books you write?" This remark provided an index to the dimension of his literary output.

Arberry died on October 22, 1969. In him we lost a great friend of Oriental learning, a devoted scholar and worker on Iqbal. While it is true that "Nicholson was the first man in the West to recognise the greatness of Iqbal,"[1] it was Arberry who really made Iqbal accessible to Western readers. In Iqbal he discovered Rumi's teachings presented in the light of modern thought, and this served to intensify his admiration for Iqbal.

1. Arberry, *Oriental Essays*, p. 215.

XX

L. MASSIGNON'S

Preface to the French Translation of Iqbal's

Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam

By Madam Meyerovitch

It is perhaps through a philosophical work like the present one which Madam Meyerovitch has chosen for translation from among the works of Iqbal, that the French public will become aware of the growing possibilities offered by contemporary Islam to the European observer of seeing the advent of original thinkers worthy of being put on an equal footing with our thinkers.

One need not accuse Iqbal, a true believing Muslim, whose last work is oriented towards Mecca, of a "fanaticism" repudiating all philosophical research, or of having recourse to it just for tactical reasons. And the use which Iqbal makes of the terminology of Arabic origin common to all the Muslim thinkers, testifies as well that the Arabic language, too often neglected in the West by Europeans as an unfortunate instrument of "primitive obscurantism" is susceptible, thanks to writers of the quality of Iqbal, of becoming again the same as it was in the Middle Ages : a dependable instrument for the exchange of views and a vehicle for intellectual, philosophical and scientific research; precisely on that Muslim international plane on which the new Muslim independent "nations", after a crisis of nationalism, express philosophic thought and religious experience by means of traditional Arabic terms of Islam—at Karachi as in Cairo.

As we have attempted to indicate in the lecture in Arabic at the University of Cairo, and since 1946 at the School of Oriental Languages at Paris, and also at the time of the Iqbal Commemoration held by Prof. Saiyadain, the refreshing originality of Iqbal derives from this that he has not limited himself to mere revindications of the Islamic ideal in comparison with the technicai ideal of the shores of the Atlantic, which is so weak metaphysically.

Son of India, of Mother India, one and indivisible, Iqbal wanted to justify philosophically the presence of Islam in India through Muslim thoughts sufficiently universalistic, and therefore altieast partially, and finally mystical rather than social (which is why he has been accused of "aristocratism"). But his mysticism was not at all quietistic, and his mystical philosophy was not isolated from the movement of life and human misery. For as we shall presently see, Iqbal, who was an artist and poet, felt keenly, to use a profound expression of a Turkish philosopher, N. Tocue, "thc revolt of God in us against ourselves", that "holy war" in the human heart which is the source of belief among the Muslims, a "revolt" pregnant with dynamic mysticism.

The various initiations which Iqbal sought in the universities of Europe into the philosophical thought of the West influenced him to such an extent that they fortified in him that religious empiricism which, it is said, he took from Schleiermacher, even though Iqbal had recieved it from the old Mutazala tradition of Islam based upon Asian, Greek, Stoic and Anti-peripatetician models. Like the Stoics Iqbal argues in the way of an *empirical medical man* (*school of Pergame*). Again like the Stoics Iqbal is an atomist, not only in physics but in metaphysics and in psychology too. Here his ideas are in confiict with those of Plato and Aristotle as for example his theory of "human monads", or "egoes" (according to the old Islamic tendency affirming that it is the profession of faith in one God which alone unites our personal souls and immortalises them). On the Day of Judgment nobody will be held responsible for the actions of others (only the pilgrimage to Mecca is ailowed by proxy). In that matter several centuries before Iqbal some Muslim thinkers of India had plainly reacted against the "Wujudia" mystics (School of Ibn-i-Arabi), supporters of existential monism, which is precisely the common stock-in-trade of Hindu speculations on the "final annihilation" of the mystics. The school of "*Shuhudiya*" which follows testimonial monism, goes from Ali Hamdani, a pupil of Semnan, to Sirhindi and Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. Iqbal is "Shuhudi". He explained this to me personally during his visit to Paris.

Here is how this happened. Iqbal had known Bergson, and in spite of a bad English translation which Bergson condemned, he felt with Bergson a kind of spiritual "Semitic" affinity. And he came to

Paris to have a discourse with him. But he also wished to talk to me on Hallaj. He wrote to me from Lahore on 18.2.1932 as follows:-

"I am sending you a copy of (my) latest work "*Javid Namah*" which I hope will interest you, especially the part relating to Hallaj and Niet(z)sche (p. 50). I have allowed the former to explain himself, and as to the latter I have tried to show how a Muslim mystic would look at him. The book is a kind of Divine Comedy of Islam. It is a pity I was not able to meet you in London. I am now thinking of making a tour to Shanish Morocco, and if possible to French Morocco also. This will give me an opportunity to meet you in Paris."

Actually I saw him at my house on November 1, 1932. As he has related in a letter to Sulaiman Nadvi, which has been published at Lahore in his volume of Correspondence, Iqbal explained to me that for him the Superman of Nietzsche was an occidental replica of "I am the Truth" (*Ana'l Haq*) of Hallaj. Guided in his "*Javid Namah*" by Rumi, whom he calls Zindarud, (1) as Dante made Virgil his guide, Iqbal spoke of that "German sage" and of "his old song on the flute". "Again this Hallaj without power and without *string* comes to restate in another form these old words (I am the Truth). Brave words, embodying an idea that was grand : the sword of his words has cut the West into two."

Already in his "*Reconstruction*" Iqbal had celebrated the "culminating experience" of Hallaj. Iqbal saw in Hallaj one who surpassing the limits of ecstacy, has manifested and expressed the supreme deifying personalism and thereby shown to India how the union of the two oceans, Muslim faith and "Hindu infidelity," should be realised, not by conversion, but by catalysis of the "revolt of God in us," by the personal "suttee" of saints, their ascetic self-annihilation, in the fire of anathema, and the conflict between two antithetic sections of those professing the Muslim faith : "no god but God." Following the example of Iblis, Hallaj, confirmed by Ghalib and Tahira Qurratal Ain, the martyred saint of the Babis, has chosen the "bloody strife," and has deprived himself of the Beloved

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1. **And who is with him one of the "five masters" of Islamic thought in Pakistan with Ghazali, Rumi. Tontaymiya (Ibne Taimiya) and Shah Waliullah Dehlavi.**

while burning in the fire of self-damnation. And he explains this to Zindarud.

Such, we believe, is the personal testimony of the divine rebel in whom Iqbal saw the supreme personality of the mystic. This takes us very close to some Hindu ascetics, and very distant from the bourgeois and provincial Islam to which attempts have been made to reduce this master since he was buried in his tomb of red sandstone on the left of the big square of the great mosque at Lahore. There I bent down to pay my respects on June 15, 1945, the day of the Urs of Ganj Bakhsh Hujwiri, patron saint of Lahore, guided by Iqbal's friend Khan Bahadur (Chaudhury Mohammad Hussain), and having, before going there, collected my thoughts in the company of his second son in the room of Javid Manzil where he had died.

COMMENTS BY S A. VAHID

Writing about the introductory remarks, whose English translation by Dr. Reyazul Hasan is given above, Professor Schimmel says in her *Gabriel's Wing* : "The French scholar has understood the religious importance of Iqbal's activities better than any other European scholar. His few introductory remarks to the French translation of the Lectures can be considered the best summary of Iqbal's thought ever written." (Page 318). After reading these remarks I wanted to read the Preface by Mons. Massignon to *Reconstruire La Pensee Religieuse De L'Islam*, which is the French translation of Allama's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* by Madame Meyerovitch. Before dealing with the remarks contained in the Preface by that great Orientalist it would interest the readers to know something aboutt his translation. In 1951 Dr. M. Raziuddin Siddiqi, Vice-Chancellor of Islamabad University, when on a visit to Paris, presented a copy of Iqbal's *Reconstruction* to his friend Madame Meyerovitch, who was then working in the French Ministry of Education in Paris. This talented lady studied the book and was so impressed by the profoundity of Iqbal's thought that she wrote to Dr. Raziuddin and requested him to get her permission of the trustees of Iqbal's estate to translate the book into French. Dr. Raziuddin advised her to write to me in this connection. On getting her letter I wrote to Dr. Javid Iqbal requesting him to give

the necessary permission. Dr. Javid Iqbal generously gave the necessary permission and the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* was translated into French and published by Libraine D' Amerique Et D'Orient of Paris in 1955. After translating *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* Madame Meyerovitch translated Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq* and *Javid Namah* also into French. These have been published.

When I read Mons. Massignon's Preface I was very disappointed, and at times I thought I had perhaps not understood the learned writer in French. So I asked my friend Dr. Riyazul Hasan to translate the Preface into English. The translation confirmed my suspicion that unfortunately Mons. Massignon had failed to understand Iqbal. Mons. Massignon is one of the greatest European Orientalists and has done great service to the study of Mansur Hallaj and *Tasawwuf.* Amongst his publications may be mentioned the following :

Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane Paris 1922, 1954.

La Passion d'al Hosayn Ibn Mansour al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam, 2 Vol. Paris 1922.

Kitab al-tawasin de Hallaj, Paris 1913.

Iqbal appreciated Massignon's work on Hallaj so much that he went to Paris to meet him.

In the Preface Mons. Massignon has remarked "Iqbal son of India, son of Mother India, one and indivisible". It is regrettable to note that in spite of his visits to the sub-continent Mons. Massignon has failed completely to understand the historical and cultural background of Pakistan.

Further on speaking of Iqbal's conception of the significance of Hallaj, he says that Hallaj had by means of his "deifying personalism" shown to India how "the union of the two oceans, Islamic faith and Hindu 'infidelity,' should be realised." Now if Mons. Massignon is attributing to Iqbal a desire to bring this unification he is ignoring the fact known to every student of Iqbal that he always opposed the absorption of Islam by Hinduism, and that he certainly never wanted the union of the two faiths.

The most disappointing remarks by Mons. Massignon are contained in the last paragraph of the Preface wherein he says : "Such, we believe, is the personal testimony of the divine rebel in whom Iqbal saw the supreme personality of the mystic. This takes us very close to some Hindu ascetics and very distant from the bourgeois and provincial Islam to which attempts have been made to reduce this master since he was buried in his tomb of red sandstone on the left of of the big square of the great mosque in Lahore."

Iqbal was a rebel against the West but not a divine rebel. Then there is nothing in Iqbal's message and teachings which can be interpreted in terms of Hindu ascetism. And we can onbly conclude from the above remarks that Mons. Massignon had either not read Iqbal or had failed to understand him. We should have very much liked to attribute Mons. Massingon's remarks about India being indivisible to a misunderstanding of the historical processes at work in the sub-continent, but in this connection some facts have accidentally come to our notice which impart to these remarks a special significance. The well-known author and scholar Mr. Aziz Ahmad, who was then working with the Ministry of Information of the Government of Pakistan, was sent by the Government in 1955 to Paris for some official work. While in Paris, Mr. Aziz Ahmad was requested by some friends to approach Mons. Massignon and to request him to delete those remarks about the indivisibility of the sub-continent from his Preface. Mr. Aziz Ahmad informs me that when he called on the great savant he was received with all the affability and courtesy of which only the French are capable. The talk between the two scholars went on nicely, but as soon as Mr. Aziz Ahmad referred to the remarks, which a Pakistani could not but resent, Mons. Massignon flared up and with great abruptness remarked : "The interview is finished, you can leave." This can only mean that the remarks by Mons. Massignon in the Preface were deliberate and a result of deep thinking. One cannot resist the conclusion that they were a result of some anti-Pakistani influences.

As remarked above, most of the remarks in the Preface are incorrect and baseless. They are more prejudiced than scholarly. But at the same time the great scholar has also put on record certain information of great value, for instance when he says that Iqbal told

him that he (Iqbal) did not believe in *wahdat-al-wujud* and was a follower of the *Shuhudi* School represented by Mujaddid Alif Sani and others. This should put an end to the controversy that some Pakistani scholars are still carrying on regarding Iqbal's mysticism.

On the whole it is surprising what made Professor Schimmel say about Mons. Massignon : "His few introductory remarks to the French translation of the Lectures can be considered the best summary of Iqbal's thought ever written." This only reminds us of Iqbal's remarks about the European Orientalist :

"I have no faith in the European Orientalist because their work is the result of political or religious prejudices." (*Iqbal Namah* Part II,p.96)

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